



*Antiquitatis primæve peritissimus, orthodoxæ Religionis
vindex & vñ p̄p̄htos, errorū mallens in concionand° frequens.
facundus præpotens, vitæ incuspatæ exemplar spectabile.*

Rob: Pinck Vicecancellarius Oxoniensis posuit

THE POWER

Communicated by GOD to

THE PRINCE,

AND

THE OBEDIENCE

Required of

THE SUBJECT.

Briefly laid down, and Confirmed out of

*{ Holy Scriptures,
The { Testimony of the Primitive Church.
 { Dictates of right Reason, and
 { Opinion of the Wisest among the
 Heathen Writers.*

By the most Reverend Father in God, JAMES, late Lord Archbishop of ARMAGH, and Primate of all Ireland.

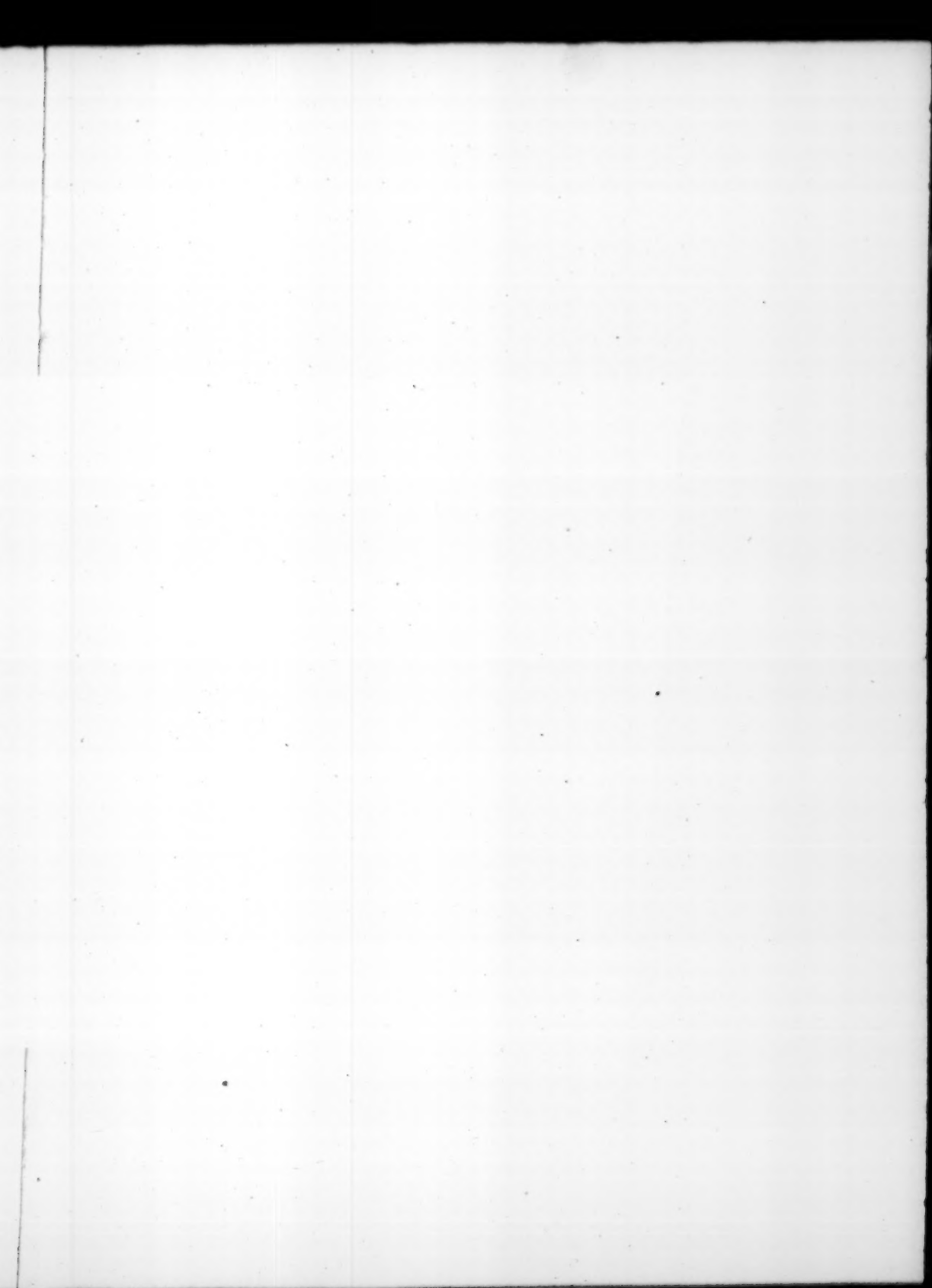
Faithfully Published out of the *Original Copy*, written with his own hand, by the Reverend Father in God, *Robert Lord Bishop of Lincoln*, with his Lordships Preface thereunto.

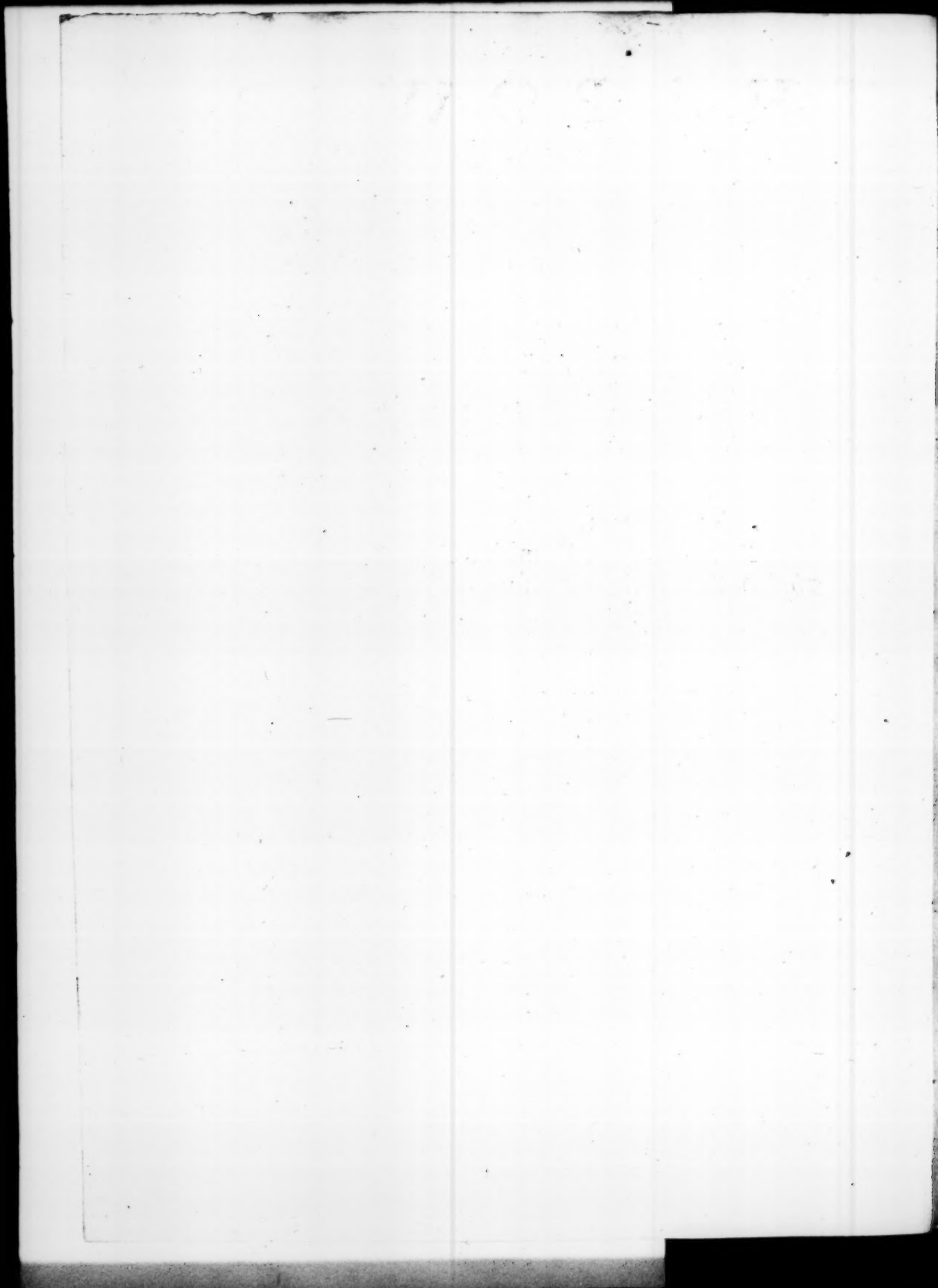
Prov. 24. 21. My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *Anne Seile*, over against St. *Dunstons* Church in *Fleetstreet*, 1661.







TO THE
Kings most Excellent Majesty,
CHARLES the **II.**

By the Grace of God

King of Great Britain, France and Ireland,
Defender of the Faith, &c.

My most dread Sovereign,



*He Law of Nature obliging
all men to advance the honour
and reputation of their An-
cestors, I could not render a
more signal Obedience there-
to, than by Dedicating this Treatise (com-
pos'd purposely for the Rights both of Prin-
ces and Subjects) to Your Sacred Maje-
sty, to Whom it doth most properly apper-
tain: Seeing it was at first compiled for the
Service and Satisfaction of Your Royal
Father, of blessed memory, and by His deep*

A 3

Judg-

THE EPISTLE

Judgment and singular Prudence thought worthy the Publishing to the world.

But those cross Occurrences, which then and since have obstructed it, have given it the happier opportunity of appearing in the more peacefull and prosperous Reign of Your Excellent Majesty, and I hope for the confirmation of staggering Loyalty in the hearts of many in these Your Dominions. Therefore as Your Majesties right to the Patronage of this Book may be termed a right of Succession; so the Book it self may almost challenge this noble privilege, that being compos'd for, and presented to, the greatest and best of Kings, it should not without a kind of Diminution be Dedicated to any Prince in Christendome, except Your Majesties Royal Self.

I shall now make this my most humble Suit to Your Majesty, That as the Reverend Author in his Life-time publickly professed

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fessed his Loyalty to his Sovereign, and constantly prayed for Your Majesties happy and glorious Return to these Your Kingdoms, and in all things shewed himself Your Loyal Subject; so You would be pleased to own him as such, by affording Your gracious Countenance to this his posthumous Work; which will æternize the memory of the deceased Author, and thereby confer the greatest temporal Blessing on

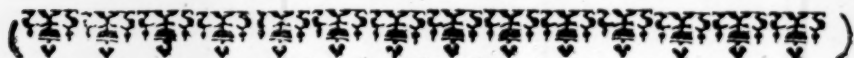
YOUR MAJESTIES

Most Loyal and Obedient Subject,

James Tyrrill.

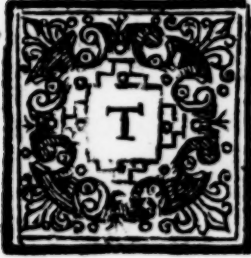


Some faults have escaped (though not many) by mistake of Letters, as in the Greek Quotations σ for α , χ for κ , and pag. 3. in the Hebrew line 18. \daleth for γ , l. 29. \beth for η , i for γ , \beth for δ , η for ζ : and perhaps some others, which alter not the sense. The more material, which the Reader is desired to mend with his pen, are these: Preface sect. 13. l. 4. put out *not*, p. 56. l. ult. *persuaded* r. *pursued*, p. 120. l. 15. *Saul had* r. *God had*, p. 174. marg. 2 l. 10. for *Bonum fac & habebis* r. *Bonum fac, & laudabit te potestas*, sed ait, *Bonum fac & habebis*.





The P R E F A C E *to the*
R E A D E R.

I.  He Reader is desired to take notice, that *this Treatise* was written by the reverend and learned Author at the special command of our late gracious Sovereign (of blessed memory) King CHARLES the First, about the time when those unhappy distempers (which had been a good while before by the endeavours of some unquiet spirits secretly working under hand, and not long after broke out most desperately into a bloody and unnatural war) did first begin to appear openly in our Land. As soon as the *Treatise* was finished, the Author caused a copy thereof to be fairly transcribed, and with a *Dedictory Epistle* prefixed thereunto, to be presented to

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His Majesty; Who having read the book, signified his will and pleasure that it should be *printed*; to the end that all his beloved *Subjects* might receive the like satisfaction from the same, as *Himself* had done. Whereupon *the Author*, being not then at *London* himself, sent up the aforesaid *transcript copy* thither, to the intent it should be there *printed*: which notwithstanding, whether by the negligence or *unfaithfulness* of the party, to whose care and trust it was committed, was not done; but *the copy* it self finally lost, or pretended to be lost, and so that intent frustrated. The *Original copy* of his own hand-writing being in the mean time by *the Author* (supposing perhaps there would be little use of it after it was *printed*) neglectedly laid aside, and so at length mingling with some other papers, it became so buried amongst those heaps of *books* and *writings*, whereof he had good store, that it never was his hap to meet with it again all his life-time; but gave it over for *lost* also as wel as *the Transcript* aforesaid, to his great grief, as he oft expressed to those that were about him: Yet was it not indeed *lost*, but only *mis-layed*, as after his death appeared. When they, to whom it appertained to take an *Inventory* of what he left behind him, in sorting his *papers* which lay disorderly and
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to the Reader.

confusedly, some in one place of his Study, so me in another, amongst the rest found *the first Original copy* of this Treatise, from beginning to end, all written with *his own hand*; which they looked upon as a *choice jewel* (*quantivis pretii κειμήλιον*) and took care accordingly to preserve it, with an intention (as in duty for the performance of *the will of the dead*, they held themselves obliged to do) when *the Times* would bear it, to *publish* it to the world for the *common benefit* of all those, that were *able* to understand it, and *willing* to make a good use of it.

II. But as *the Times* then were, the whole Nation being enslaved to the will and tyranny of a *monstrous Usurper*, it could not be either *safe* or *seasonable* so to do; in so far, that for any person only to have been known to have had such a piece in his custody, had been *crime* enough to have cast him under the displeasure of the most *merciless Tyrant*, and withall *the most perfect dissembler*, in the world: And *the work* it self, had it been once discovered where it lay, had been sure either to have been suppressed, and so to have *perished* for ever; or (which is no less probable, but had been much worse) to have been *pervverted*, quite contrary to the pious and loyal intention of *the Author*, in being made *instrumental* to the support of *his power*,

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who having unrighteously invaded *the Sovereignty*, was then in actual possession of *the Sword*: For by this time the Flatterers of that great Tyrant had learnt by a new device, upon the bare account of *Providence*, without respect to the justice of *the title* (the onely right and proper foundation) to interpret and apply to his advantage, whatsoever they found either in *the Scriptures* or in other writings delivered concerning *the power of Princes* or *the duty of Subjects*, profanely and sacrilegiously taking the name of that *holy Providence of God* in vain, and using it only as a stalking horse to serve the *lusts* and *interests* of ambitious men.

III. When by the death of that Tyrant it was hoped *the black cloud* that hanged over us would scatter, yet was the Coast for all that never a whit the clearer; but *the darkness* rather thickned upon us, and the danger of bringing any thing of *this nature* to light, was much greater than before. The tyranny still continu'd, though under various shapes, *Proteus-like* ever & anon changing forms; *Mock-Parliaments*, and other (what shall we call them?) things, for which it was hard to find names to distinguish them by. The very name of *Monarchy* mean while decried and exploded as a *devoted* and *execrable* thing, and (to make short) every thing posting on desperately towards *Anarchy*, *confusion* and *ruine*.

IV. Thus

to the Reader.

IV. Thus lay we in darkness and in the shadow of death, heartless and hopeless; when behold *οὐδὲς ἔτι μετάνει*, The eternal God, who in the beginning of the Creation caused light to shine out of darkness, (to manifest at once the mightiness of his power, and the riches of his mercy and compassion, in looking upon the miseries of a foolish and unthankful people, that had so highly provoked him) appeared gloriously in the Mount, and caused the light of his favourable countenance once more to shine upon us in the midst of our greatest confusions. And all this done, since men have talked so much of Providence, who (so far as appeareth by their actions) believe nothing of it, by a special hand of Providence indeed; so signal and visible (considered in all its circumstances) as if the Lord had purposely stretched out his hand to convince the bold Atheists of these times, that verily there is such a thing as they call Providence, and that *doubtless there is a God that judgeth the earth.* *

V. This so blessed and unexpected a change (*Mutatio dextræ excelsi*) amongst many other good effects tending to the happiness of this Nation (if we would but keep our selves quiet and be thankful) hath by removing the late unhappy obstructions made a way for truth and reason, which before
durst

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durst scarce peep out without a disguise, to adventure abroad *open-faced*. Which opportunity gave me the perusal of this *book*, brought to my hands by a *Gentleman* of great hopes and ingenuity, and *grand-child* to the reverend *Author*, in whose custody it then was. Upon the perusal whereof I found it so full of *truth* and *reason*, and so every way answering that expectation which the known *abilities* of so learned an *Author* had before hand raised in me, that in order to the *publick benefit*, and for the preservation of true *Christian loyalty* in the hearts of all my *fellow-subjects*, I endeavoured what in me lay to help forward the Impression. It is a thing indeed very much desired by men piously zealous of the *publick peace*, that by the prudent care of those that are in Authority some *timely* and *effectuall* provisions were made for *repressing* the exorbitant licentiousnes both of the *Press* and *Pulpit*, and the *suppressing* of seditious *Sermons* and *Pamphlets*; by meanes whereof thousands of *well-meaning souls* become poysoned in their judgments, have their *affections* sowed towards their *Governours*; in whom they ought to rejoyce, and are *themselves* apt to be misled into the foulest practices of *disobedience* and *rebellion* ere they be aware. In the mean time, until some further order be taken herein, it is but needful that such

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Treatises of this nature, as carry weight and evidence with them, should be published to the world for the settling of mens *judgments* and *consciences* aright, as concerning the great duties of *Christian obedience* and *subjection*, and for the preventing of such mischiefs as must unavoidably ensue, where those so necessary points are either *mis-represented* by the leaders, or *mis' understood* by the people.

VI. For the attaining of which ends I have great reason to believe that what is here presented to view may be as effectually conducive, as any thing that hath been written, or probably can be written (at least in this present Age) by any other hand, whether we respect *the work* or *the Authour*. In *the work* it self, the diligent and impartial Reader, that will but bestow his hours so profitably as to take it all before him from the beginning to the end, (besides the great variety of *learning* and *Authorities* which he shall meet withall all along) will easily find all to the full made good in *the Treatise*, whatsoever is promised in *the Title*. And then for *the Author* himself, it is not unknown to the world what great *esteem* was had of his *learning* and *moderation*, and what great *respect* and *reverence* was paid to his *Person* and *Judgment* by the generality even of those men, whose either *judgments* or *interests* sway-
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ed the to entertain other perswasions than he had in sundry points, as well concerning the *Ecclesiastical* as *Civil* government. Which truly as it is a very great advantage in it self (for in this case, as in some other things, the old saying holdeth, *Duo cum faciunt idem non est idem*, and many times the value the Patient setteth upon the Physician advanceth the cure almost incredibly beyond what the vertue of the Ingredients would have done without it :) So this reverend *Primate* had that advantage in a very great measure, above almost all other men in the world in his time. If some men I could name should write of the *Power of Kings*, and the *Duty of Subjects*, with the pen and art of Men and Angels, with all the evidence of truth and the greatest strength of reason imaginable, it would work no more upon one sort of men in this generation, than a charm would do upon a deaf Adder. Their Writings would be slighted and thrown aside, decried and condemned all with a breath, without the reading of any more than the bare Title page. Of so much greater force are Names than Things for the heightening or lessening the Authority of mens Writings, with such as have suffered themselves to be engaged in Parties and Factions, or whose Judgments are forestalled with prejudices or partial affections. But this

to the Reader.

this reverend Author, besides his great abilities in all kind of profitable and polite *learning*, his vast reading and readiness to make use of what he had read upon all occasions, had also by his Piety and Regularity of life, by his Meekness and Moderation, by his humble, affable and free letting himself forth to all *Convertes*, together with his facility and willingness to hold fair compliances and correspondencies with those he presently conversed with, gained to himself such a general reputation with all parties, that his very Name carried Authority with it, and awed those very men into a reverend estimation of his Person and Judgment, who were yet too stiff to submit to the Judgments of any person but themselves:

VII. Of the Author, whose worth and abilities are so well known to the world both at home and abroad, I shall not need to say any more, nor of his other Works, which (without me) will sufficiently *praise him in the gates*. All the account I am to give is of this present Work, which had appeared sooner in publick, but that it seemed necessary to have it fairly transcribed once more, and the Transcript compared with the Original, before it were sent to the Press, and that for two Reasons; The one, because the *αὐτογράφον*, or *first Copy*, being close

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written with many Additions, Interlinings and References (and those sometimes very obscure and scarce discernable) almost in every Page, would so have puzzled and perplexed the Workmen at the Press, that it had not been possible for them to have carried on *the work*, without much difficulty and disturbance to themselves, and no less injury and trouble to the Readers, through the multitude of mistakings and misplacings of Words, Sentences and Quotations. The other, that the Original Copy might not in the whole or in any part thereof, be soyled, torn, scattered or lost, while it was in the Printers or Correctors hands; but that the same being preserved whole and entire might remain as a *Record*, ready to be produced and shewn under the Authors *own hand*, whensoever it should be required, either to *justify* the integrity of this Publication, or to *satisfie* any person that may suspect Forgery therein, or upon any other just occasion otherwise: For *posthumous* Writings (because many of them are such) lye all of them under the suspicion of being *Spurious* and *Supposititious*, or at leastwise of being *moulded*, *interpolated* and *condited* to the gust and palate of the Publisher. To discharge my self and all that have any hand in this Publication, from all such suspicion, and clear to the world our

to the Reader.

Innocency in that behalf, vve thought our selves obliged to give better security than our own *bare word*; that if any doubt should be made of our fidelity herein, recourse might be had to the Authors *undoubted Original copy* (reserved in his Grandchilds hand for that purpose) for better satisfaction herein.

VIII. Now *the main design* of the whole Work is that vvhich is conraind in the later part thereof, concerning *the Duty of Subjects*: That all the Kings *Liege people* might knowv they vv ere in their Consciences (both by *the Law of God* and their own *native condition*) bound to hold close to their *Alegiance* and *Ob di nce* to the Kings most excellent Majesty; notwithstanding all the attempts that vv ere then enleavoured to be made upon their *L yal ty*, under the softer Notions of *Religion* and *Liberty*; or those fiercer assaults (vvhich the face of affairs then threatned, and soon after ensued) of *Plunder* and *Undoing*. But forasmuch as *the Duty* vvhich God requires of Subjects is grounded upon that *Power* which the same God hath committed to Sovereigns, (as *St. Paul Rom. 13. 1, &c.* clearly deduceth the obligation of that Duty from Gods ordaining that Power, and then men will *faithfully serve, honour and humbly obey the King, according to Gods blessed*

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Word and Ordinance, when they shall have *duly* considered *whose Authority he hath* :) He saw it most agreeable to the laws of good method, that he should first establish the Princes Power upon the right bottom, and thence demonstratively infer and enforce the Subjects duty as a necessary consequence thereof; like a wise *Master-Builder* laying the *ground-work* sure, that the *structure* might rise the firmer. For upon the right stating of these two Questions concerning the Power of Sovereign Princes, *What* it is, and *Whence* it is? (which how exactly it is performed in the former Part of this Treatise I leave the intelligent Reader to judge) dependeth the true decision of all such emergent Differences and Controversies as may arise at any time between Princes and their Subjects, and consequently the Safety and Security of both; and consequently to those, the Peace and Happiness of all Kingdoms, States and Common-wealths.

IX. By what hath been said the Reader will easily perceive, that it is a matter of very great and universal concernment (for both Prince and People, that is, all Mankind, are concerned in it) that the two Points insisted upon in this Treatise should be well known and rightly understood. And therefore I cannot sufficiently wonder at the in-
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to the Reader.

considerateness, or perverseness rather, of those men, if any such shall be found, (and by the pulse of the Times and other Indications, it is no hard matter to foresee there will be found enough such) as will take offence at the Publishing hereof, or indeed of any thing else that can be written, although with never so much truth and soberness in this Argument. But yet they have not all the same pretences, some quarrelling most at the Persons, others at the Thing it self, and some perhaps at the very circumstance of Time, according as they are led along by their several Passions or Interests.

1. Some, who look upon the Church with an evil eye, forsomuch as not this present Work onely, but most of what hath been written in this kind heretofore, hath been written by the Bishops or other Episcopal Divines, will be ready to give out, and that, according to their old wont, with confidence enough. That it is not either the love of Truth, or zeal of the Honour of Kings, but the busie forwardnesse of some flattering ambitious *Church-men*, the more to ingratiate themselves with the *higher Powers*, in hope to get better preferments thereby, that hath brought forth into the world so many Discourses and Treatises concerning the Power of Sovereign Princes, and the Obedience

of

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of Subjects. 2. Others, it may be, will alledge, That it is not for Divines at all to meddle in these matters, whereof they are no competent Judges, nor do they come within the compasse of their Sphere; they ought to be left to the cognizance and determination of States-men and Lawyers, who best understand the constitution of these several Governments, and the force and effect of the Laws of their own several respective Countries, and are therefore presumed to be best able to judge, the one (by *the constitution*) in whom *the Sovereignty* resideth, and the other (by *the Laws*) how that *Sovereignty* is bounded and limited in the exercise thereof. 3. Besides these, whose quarrel is chiefly against *the Persons*, there is a Generation of men wholly disaffected to *the Thing* itself; men of popular spirits, who have so far espoused certain false Principles, apt to engender Sedition, and utterly destructive of *King's Government*, that they will not easily be drawn off of them again. These taking it for an *undeniable truth*, which if examined to the bottom will be found so far remote from Truth, that it is not within the possibility of being rendered so much as *probable* by any other *medium*, than that it hath been countenanced by some great Names, That *the Original of all Government* is from the

— et cuius
voluntate
ius regnan-
di proficif-
citur.
Grot. 2 de
jure belli
4. 10.

to the Reader.

the people, and that *the Power* which Kings and Princes have, was derived unto them from the people by way of pact or contract ; would thence infer, That *Princes* therefore can claim no more power as of right belonging unto them, than the people shall think fit to entrust them withall : Which the people may from time to time, and at all times, as they shall see cause in order to the publick weal and safety, either *inlarge* or *restrain* at their pleasure. Whence it will farther follow, that the *Princes power*, being but a *precarious* and *ambulatory* power, subject to be varied according to the exigency of *times* and *occasions* , is not capable to be comprized within any *fixt Rules*, neither can any thing be written thereof with any certainty. 4. Nor is it improbable lastly, that some, willing to play such *small game* rather than *sit out*, will take exceptions at the *Ill-timing* of this publication, That Discourses of this nature might possibly at the time when these things were first written by *the P. i. mate*, have been of some good use, towards the discovery of the iniquity and hypocrisie of *the mystery of Rebellion* which had then begun to work, the giving a *stop* or *check* at least, to the farther spreading thereof, and the keeping of the Kings good Subjects in their right wits, from falling into that

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Apostacy from their *Faith* and *Allegiance* to His Majesty, into which multitudes of them, inveigled by *false Teachers* and *specious pretences*, were afterwards drawn: But now that by the merciful providence and good hand of God upon us, *the King* is so happily restored to his just *rights*, and the *Nation* thereby to their ancient *laws* and *liberties*; His *Supremacy* so generally owned and acknowledged, and that under the sacred and religious tye of a *solemn Oath* all over the *Realm*; *the People* of the three *Kingdoms* reduced to their *former obedience*, and the *Affairs* both of *Church* and *State* put into a good forwardness of a happy and orderly *resettlement*, as there seemeth to be *little need*, so there will be made *little use* of this or any other *Writings* in this kind.

X. To all which, and whatsoever other *Objections* can be made here-against, it shall suffice to oppose, as a *general* and *satisfactory Answer*, that one short passage of *St. Paul*, *Tit. 3. 1. Put them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates, to be ready to every good work.* Doubtless the holy *Apostle*, who was so far from being a flatterer or *man-pleaser*, from seeking *himself*, his own *glory*, or other *temporal* advantage; from making *merchandize* of the holy Word of God, or handling it

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it *deceitfully* for filthy lucre's sake, that very often in his Epistles he utterly disclaimeth such *base unwor-* Gal. 1. 10.
1 Thes. 2.
5, 6.
thy practises, as altogether unbecoming *the servant of Christ*, appealing to the *Consciences* of those that knew him, and calling in *God* also to witnesse with him, how clear he stood in that behalf; would never have given it in charge to *Titus*, or any other *Bishop* or *Minister* of the Gospel, to preach such *doctrine* to the people of God, had there been any thing of Flattery or Secular design in so doing. Nor were the times then such as could reasonably tempt any man to such Flattery with hopes of *preferment*, (and what man, not forsaken of his wits, would play the *Parasite* for nothing?) when as neither the Church had yet any settled revenue, nor was there at that time so much as any one *Christian Prince* in the universal world. It is evident enough from sundry intimations scattered in all his *Epistles*, especially those to *Timothy* and *Titus*, that the reasons of the Apostles Injunction, without the least reflexion upon his own or their *terrene interests*, were drawn from *Topicks* of more sublime consideration, *The Ordinance of God*, *The discharge of Duty* and a good *Conscience*, *The advancement of the Gospel*, and *The honor of the Christian Religion*. *Subjection* and *Obedience* to Superiours is certainly no

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small part of the Christians duty; a debt so *just*, and so *well known* to be so, that the Apostle supposeth none could be utterly *ignorant* of; onely because men generally are not so *forward* to performe known Duties as they should be, he saw it needful they should be sometimes, and upon all just occasions, *admonished* and *reminded* thereof by their Teachers.

XI. And then sure if those Teachers be Divines, (and I think no sober man will deny *Titus*, and others by him assumed *in partem curæ*, to have been such) the pressing of the aforesaid Duties can be no unfit *theme* for Divines to busie themselves in: unless we will affirm that St. *Paul* meant to put a task upon them, altogether *excentrick* from their Function and Calling. It appertaineth to the Ministers office, not onely to *declare* the Will of God to the people *circa res agendas*, (as well as *credendas*) to the intent they may frame their *lives* and *actions* accordingly; but also to *stirre up their minds by way of remembrance*, and to charge upon their Consciences the performance of every duty they owe either to God or Man. Which is needful to be done in the particulars we now treat of (*viz. Subjection* and *Obedience* to lawful Authority) with as much diligence, vigour and instance, as almost in any other par-

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particular duty whatsoever; because through the corruption of Nature and the pride of mens spirits, the greatest part of Mankind are *tarda nomina*, such debtors as will abide calling on, not willing to pay more than needs must, nor that but with some grudging. But how shall the Minister be able to do this * with authority? or, how shall he secure him self and his endeavours the mean while from *scorn* and contempt, if he shall not be able first competently to convince the persons he is to deal withall, that such Subjection and Obedience is their bounden duty? For vain it is to think, that empty wordes should have any strong operation upon the wills and affections of men in any thing required to be done of them, without representing to their Understandings somewhat to make the proposal seem reasonable. And then, forasmuch as the obligation to those duties in Inferiours ariseth from, and is commensurate unto, that power wherewith Superiours are entrusted, (as hath been partly already shewn) the most proper and rational course that can be taken to perswade men effectually to the performance of those duties, is by informing them rightly and clearly, What that Power is, and Whence it is derived.

XII. True it is, that for the more ease of the

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Governours, and better satisfaction of *the people*, in securing their properties, preserving peace among them, and doing them justice, the absolute and unlimited *Sovereignty* which Princes have by the *Ordinance of God*, hath at all times & in all Nations been diversly limited and bounded in the ordinary exercise thereof, by such Laws and Customs as the supreme Governours themselves have consented unto and allowed. As with us in *England*, there are sundry Cases wherein a Subject, in maintenance of his right and property, may wage Law with the King, bring his Action and have Judgment against him in open Court; and the Judges in such case are bound by their Oaths and Duties to right the party according to Law, against the King as well as against the meanest of his Subjects. And it is very true also, that where any Controversie ariseth about *Meum* and *Tuum*, or Sute groweth between the King and one or more of his Subjects, (as it may be about some *Tenure*, *Grant*, *Privilege*, *Usage*, or other thing) the debating and determining of every such doubt or Controversie belongeth to the learned Lawyers and reverend Judges, who are presumed to be best skilled in the Laws and Customs of the Land, as their proper study, wherein they are daily conversant; and
not

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not to Divines, who (as Divines) are no competent judges in such matters, nor do they come within the compass of their sphere. All this therefore must be granted; yet is not the Divine hereby wholly excluded from having his part, and that proper and peculiar to him, even in the nicest Law-eases; so far as they relate to Morality and practice in point of Conscience. For *humane Laws* cannot be the adequate measure of *Moral duty* in the judgment of any reasonable man, (for *Atheists*, though masters of never so much Reason, I reckon not of as reasonable men) the Laws being finite and fixed, but the circumstances of mens actions, on which their lawfulness and unlawfulness chiefly dependeth, various and infinite. The Laws allow (and of necessity so must) many things *to be done*, which an honest man would be loath *to do*; and affordeth sundry advantages, which one that feareth God, and maketh Conscience of his wayes, ought not to take. As then, when the whole businesse under consideration is perfectly stated, with all the material circumstances thereunto belonging, as *to matter of fact*, if any doubt arise what in such case may be done or not done *in point of Law*, wise men use to take the advice and direction of their learned Counsel skilled in the Laws: In like manner, if
any

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any doubt arise, what in the same Case so stated as before is fit to be done or not done *in point of Conscience*; whence can any man seek for resolution and instruction so properly and rationally, as from the mouth of a learned, grave and sober Divine? *The Priests lips should preserve knowledge, and they should seek the Law at his mouth, Mal. 2. 7.*

XIII. Whether what I have now last insisted upon will be taken for a Digression or not, is at the Readers courtesie, and as he will interpret it. To me it seemed not *pertinent* enough to the *Objection*, and somewhat *needful* also to be taken notice of, in regard of the great *clamour* raised against *Church men* for thrusting their Sickle in every mans Corn; by those men, who (it seemeth) have not *considered*, or not with an *equal eye*, how busily and *magisterially* men of other professions adventure into the world their bold *dictates*, not onely in matters concerning *Church discipline* and *government*, but even in the deepest points of *Polemical* and *School-Divinity*. But otherwise, and as in relation to the present *Treatise*, I confesse it might well enough have been spared. Wherein the reverend *Author*, without meddling with these *Puntilio's of the Law*, undertaketh no more but to *declare* and *assert* the *Power of Sovereign Princes*, as the godly *Fathers* and

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and *Councils* of the ancient Catholick Church from the evidence of holy *Scripture*, and the most judicious *Heathen Writers* by discourse of reason from the light of *Nature*, have constantly taught and acknowledged the same : as to the unprejudiced *Reader* by the perusal of the Book it self will easily appear. And it must be a strange perverseness of spirit in any person whosoever he be, that shall affirm such an undertaking by a *Divine*, to be a stretching himself beyond *the lines and measure* of his Calling.

XIV. And as for the *Sovereignty*, be it as it will be with other *States* and *Commonwealths* in regard of their *Constitution* : to us of this Nation it is so evident, where it resideth, that we need not to have recourse to *Statesmen* or *Lawyers* for information in that point. The known *Laws* of the Land have declared it so fully, and particularly *the Oath of Supremacy* expressed it so clearly, that any man of ordinary capacity may understand it as well as the deepest *Statesman* in the world. That which some talk of, a mixt *Monarchy*, (which by the way is an arrant *Bull*, a contradiction in adjecto, and destroyeth it self;) and others dream of such a *Co-ordination* in the Government, as was hatch'd amidst the heat of the late Troubles, but never before heard of
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in our Land: are in very truth no better than senselesse and ridiculous Fancies. Which although some men have framed to themselves out of their own vain Imaginations, made them as gay as they could, and then set them up as Idols to be adored by the Populacy, alwayes apt to admire what they understand not; yet are they not able to stand up in the presence of that Oath, but must fall flat to the ground before it, as Dagon before the Ark, and be broken all to pieces: Are not the words of the Oath [*That the King's Highnesse is the onely Supreme Governour of this Realm, &c.*] as plain and obvious to every mans understanding, as the wit of man can devise? and ought not every Oath to be sworn and taken, according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the words, wherein it is expressed and administred? It were an inexcusable tyranny in the State, to the ensnaring of the Consciences of many thousands of well-meaning and loyal Subjects, to require that Oath to be taken in such a form of words, if it were to be understood in any other sense than those words literally import, and that sense not made known to them by some publick Declaration or other. For then how could such an Oath be sworn and taken (as every Oath ought to be) in truth, and judgment, and righteousness?

Jer. 4 2.

XV. As

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XV. As for those in the next place that would derive the Original of all Government from the People by way of pact or contract: It may suffice to say that they take that for Granted which never yet was Proved, nor (I dare say) will ever be proved while the world standeth, either from Scripture, Reason or History. *Jus gladii*, the right and power of the Sword (which is really the Sovereign Power) belongeth we know to Kings, but it is (a) *by the Ordinance of God*, not the donation of the People: For (b) *He beareth the Sword* (St. Paul telleth us) as Gods Minister, from whom he received it; and not as the Peoples minister, who had no right to give it because they never had it themselves. If any shall say they *had*, the proof lyeth on their part, to shew how they *came by it*: whether God *gave it* them, or they *took it* themselves. If God *gave it* them, let it be made appear when and where *the first grant* was made; let some evidence be produced to justify *the claime*, or at least some *credible testimony*, or pregnant *presumption* to render it probable that there was some such thing done, though the *records* be lost. If none of all this can be done, it remaineth that if they *had it* they *took it*. And if they so did, it was *sawcily* and *sacrilegiously* done at the first; and by our *Saviour's* pre-

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sage, *Mat. 26, 52.* like enough to prosper with them accordingly at the last.

XVI. Besides, the supposed Contract it self is encombred with so many doubts and difficulties, that it is not possible for the wit of man to devise *salvo's* or *expedients* sufficient to rescue it from infinite *intanglements* and *irreconcilable contradictions*. I believe it would trouble the ablest of them all that hold this opinion, to give a direct satisfactory answer (amongst a world of *Quere's* more that might be tendered) to these following *Interrogatories*: First, for the *Persons contracting*; Of what sort of persons did the *People*, who are supposed to have made the first contract in this kind, consist? Were all, without difference of age, sex, condition, or other respect, promiscuously admitted to drive the bargain, or not? Had *Women*, and *Children*, and *Servants*, and *Mad-men*, and *Fools*, the freedom of suffrage, as well as men of age, and *fortunes*, and *understanding*? Or were any of them excluded? If any excluded, who excluded them? by whose order, and by what Authority was it done? and who gave them that Authority? If all were admitted, whether with equal right to every one, or with some *inequality*? Was the *Wives* interest towards making up the bargain equal with that of her *Husband*? and the
Childs

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Childs with that of his Parents? and the Servants (if there were or could be then any such thing as *Master and Servant*) with that of his Master? If every one had not an *equal share* and interest in the businesse, whence did the *inequality* arise? who made the *difference* between them? and what *right* had any man, and how came he to have that *right*, to give more or lesse power to one than to another? If all were *equal*, who could *summon* the rest to convene together? or appoint the *day* and *place* of meeting? or when they were met, take upon him the *Authority* and *Office* of *regulating* their proceedings, of *presiding* or *moderating* in the *Assembly*, of *determining* such doubts and differences as might arise while matters were under debate, of *calculating* the voices, and *drawing up* the *Articles* of the agreement, in case they should agree?

XVII. But let us imagine all these could be cleared, and the *contract* made as they would have it; yet would the force and obligation of it remaine questionable still: For it may be demanded, Whether the *majority* of *Votes* shall conclude all that are present, *Dissenters* as well as others? And whether by vertue of an *Act* of those upon the place, an *obligation* shall lie upon such as are casually absent, or willingly absent themselves, when it

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was free for them so to do, no man having power to require their appearance? And whether a contract made by such persons as were at liberty before, can debar those that shall succeed them in the next Generation from the use of that liberty their Ancestors had and enjoyed? If so, by what law or right are the said respective persons so Concluded? and whence should that obligation spring? None of these things look like the dictates of the Law of Nature, and other law besides that (according to our Hypothesis) when as yet there was no Government, there could be none. And the Contract it self, as a bare Contract, without the help of some law or other to give it force, cannot operate upon any but the Contractors; it cannot have any cogency upon those that never gave consent thereunto.

XVIII. Besides these and I know not how many more Difficulties no lesse insoluble, one thing there is which puzzleth the men of this opinion very much, and wherewith a man that were so disposed might make himself some sport: To wit, the Circle (between Property and Government) which they have conjured themselves into, and wherein they run round even unto giddinesse, (like men in a Maze or Labyrinth) not knowing which way to get out. That which some have said, because
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when they are put to it they must say something, viz *That Dominion and Property is in order of Nature before Government*, be it true or be it false, as to their purpose signifieth nothing; unlesse it could be made out that they were before it *in order of Time* also. This dispute is not much unlike that Problem in *Macrobius*, *Ovumne prius fuerit, an gallina?* Whether were first the Hen or the Egge? We cannot imagine there could be a *Hen*, but we must suppose there must have been an *Egge* first, out of which that *Hen* must have been hatched: neither can we imagine there could be an *Egge*, but we must suppose there must have been a *Hen* first, to lay that *Egge*. Semblably here, We cannot imagine *Property*, but we must suppose some *Government* first; because *the right* which any man hath to that wherein he claimeth a *Property* must accrue to him by some *law*, and that supposeth *Government*: Nor can we imagine a *Government*, one of the principal ends whereof is the preservation of *mens Properties* who live together in one Society, but we must suppose there were first such *Properties* to be so preserved. True it is, that a meer *Rationalist*, (that is to say in plain English, an *Atheist* of the late edition) who giveth more faith to such *Heathen Philosophy*, as affirmeth the world to have been *ab æterno*, than

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than to Divine Revelation, which assureth us it had a beginning; (and some of the great Champions of the Opinion we now speak of, have given cause enough of suspicion that they are little better :) such a one I say cannot possibly get out of *the circle*, or solve *the difficulty* in either of the aforesaid Instances: But to us, who believe the Scriptures and acknowledge a Creation, the solution of both is equally easie. If we will but follow the Clue of the sacred History in the 4. first Chapters of *Gen.* it will fairly lead us out of these Labyrinths in a plain way, and without any great trouble. It is certain that God in their first Creation made all *living creatures*, each in their kind, in the full state and *perfection of their Nature*; and thence we may conclude, that undoubtedly *the Hen* was before *the Egge*. And it is no lesse certain, that as soon as *Adam* was created, God gave to him as an *universal Monarch*, not onely *dominion* over all his *fellow creatures* that were upon the face of the Earth, but *the government* also of all *the inferiour world*, and of all the Men that after should be born into the world so long as he lived; so as whatsoever *property* any other persons afterwards had or could have in any thing in any part of the world, (as *Cain* and *Abel*, 'tis well known, had their *properties* in

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in several, and distinct either from other) they held it all of him, and had it originally by his gift or assignment, either immediately or mediately. Whence we may also conclude, both in *Hypothesis*, that *Adams* Government was before *Cains* Property; and in *Thesis*, that undoubtedly Government was before Property. And we have great reason to believe that after the Flood the sole Government was at first in *Noah*, and whatsoever either property in any thing they possessed in several, or share in the Government over any part of the world afterward any of his sons had, they had it by his sole allotment and *Authority*, and transmitted the same to their *Posterity* meerly upon that account; without awaiting the Election or consent of, or entring into any Articles or Capitulations with the People that were to be governed by them. Those words in *Gen. 10. 32.* seem to import as much, *These are the families of the sons of Noah in their generations after their nations: and by them were the nations divided in the earth after the Flood.* And so this supposed Pact or Contract, which maketh such a noise in the world, proveth to be but a *Squib*, Powder without shot, that giveth a crack, but vanisheth into air and doth no execution.

XIX. That last from the *Ill-timing* of the Publica-

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lication, is so poor an Objection that it is scarce worth the answering. *Subjection* and *Obedience* to Superiors, besides that they are duties of perpetual obligation, equally with all those mentioned together with them in that fore-cited passage of the Apostle, *Tit. 3. 1, 2.* are also (as hath been said) of so great public concernment otherwise; and withall so little looked upon as Duties by the most of men, that the pressing upon the peoples Consciences the performance thereof, whether by word or writing, cannot with any pretence of reason be deemed *unseasonable* at any time. Nor hath the great mercy of God vouchsafed to these Nations in the happy and little lesse than miraculous Restauration of our gracious Sovereign to his Fathers throne, or the general alacrity of our people in owning his Sovereignty, rendered the Truths in this Treatise asserted any whit less necessary to be taught and known as the Times now are, than in the Times of our late sad troubles and distractions. As will be easily yielded by all such, as either have diligently observed the temper and carriage of the most active men of these Times, or shall duly take into consideration (amongst many other things which might be added) these few ensuing Particulars :

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1. The desperate Principles and Resolutions of *Quakers, Fifth-Monarchy men*, and other *Enthusiastick Sectaries*, of what denomination soever, who utterly refuse to take *the Oath of Supremacy*; and what multitudes in a few years, for want of timely coercion, they are increased into in all parts of the Land.

2. How strangely some of those that have taken *the said Oath* (and they a far more considerable party than the former) do yet seek to *mince* it, by such an interpretation of the word *Onely*, as quite destroyeth the force of it, and leaveth a gap open for any rebellious attempt to enter, that shall offer so to do.

3. That *the Ministers* of that party, who in their Prayers before and after Sermon do not usually shew themselves over-studious of *brevity*, are generally observed when they pray for *the King*, (whether for fear of offending their *Grandeess*, or as a discriminating Character or *Shibboleth*, whereby to distinguish themselves from men of different Principles from them, or for whatever other reason it is) to omit in reciting *His Majesties Royal titles* that Clause which in former and peaceable times was generally used, [--- in all Causes and over all Persons, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal in His Dominions Supreme Governour.]

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4. With what boldnesse some of the said *Ministers* do in their ordinary Prayers and Sermons openly asperse the *King* and his government? and with what cunning other some of them do covertly and glauncingly inject *suspitions* into the minds and thoughts of their credulous Auditors concerning the same; by these means to beget in the people an opinion (to which the common sort are as easily perswaded as to any other thing in the world) that they are not so well governed as they should be? The old experimented artifice by which *Abfolon* stole away the hearts of the People from their Allegiance.

5. What endeavours have been used, that the *Encroachments* made upon the Regalities, by such advantages as the late *Kings* either Necessities or Condescensions ministred, should still continue? and that all publick actings from the beginning of the *Long Parliament* till the Year 1648. (whereof it were a miracle if some, whilest the Dispute was so hot, were not illegal enough, and un-precedented) should be avowed and justified?

6. What a world of wicked Pamphlets, Sermons, and other Treatises full of most dangerous and seditious Positions, have been sent abroad within these few last years, vented and dispersed through all the

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the parts of the Kingdome, and lye still upon the Stalls, and in the Shops free for any man that list to buy?

When all this, and some other things (which, to avoid the provoking of some *unpeaceable spirits*, I forbear to mention) are *notorious* of themselves, and sufficiently known to the whole Nation, let any man now say, if he can shew cause why it should be either *unseasonable* or *unnecessary* that books should be published to assert the just Right and *Power of Princes*, and to re-mind the people of their bounden duty of *Subjection and Obedience*?

Let this *learned Treatise* then in the name of God go forth and prosper, according to the pious intention of *the Reverend Author* now in peace, and the hearty desires and prayers of *the Publishers*: That *Princes* remembring from whom they have their *Authority*, may with all faithfulness exercise it to the *honour and glory* of him that gave it, to the *comfort, benefit and happinesse* of the people under their government, as the end for which it was given; and to the *furtherance and advantage* of their own tryall at that last great day, when they are to render an account for all the *Power* committed to their trust, and how they have administred the same. And that all Subjects, duly considering
whole

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whose Authority their Princes have, may faithfully serve, honour and humbly obey them according to Gods holy Word and Ordinance. So shall Peace and Righteousnesse flourish upon Earth, and God shall send down his blessing both upon King and People from Heaven. Even so, Amen.

London. Decemb. 31.
MDCLX.


Robert Lincoln.

of



PART I.

Of the Power communicated by God to the PRINCE.

I.  That Question which our Saviour propounded touching *Johns* Baptisme, is most considerable in the point we have now in hand concerning Magistracy, (a) *Whence was it?* (a) Mat. 21. 25. *from heaven, or from men?*

For if the Authority of it shall be found to have no higher spring than this earth, the streams of our obedience will be raised to no higher a pitch than that fountain. But if the descent thereof shall appear to be derived from heaven, a (b) *necessity* (b) *of subjection* to it will arise, *not for fear of punishment alone, but for Conscience sake, and that duty* which we owe unto God Almighty.

II. That *Johns* Baptisme was *from heaven* we are sure, because (c) *the Word of God came unto him*, by vertue whereof he was (d) *sent to baptise* with

(b) *διὸ ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι ὁ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν.* Rom. 13.

(c) *5. Luke 3. 2.*

(d) *John 1. 33.*

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- with water*: the Baptisme in that respect being not properly to be accounted his, but Gods; and he onely to be esteemed Gods Minister therein. Even so for Magistrates, our Saviour declareth that God was pleased to grace them
- (e) John 10. 35. *with his own name, because (e) the word of God came unto them, that is, his appointment and commandment, that they should rule in his name, and in his room. Whereupon they also are recommended unto us as (f) Gods Ministers, and their judgments as his judgments; witness that charge given to the Judges by Moses, (g) You shall not be afraid of the face of man, for the judgment is Gods; and by King Jehosaphat after him, (h) Take heed what ye do, ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in judgment. And therefore as*
- (i) Luke 11. 49. *(i) the wisdom of God said, I will send them Prophets*
 (k) Luke 7. 28. *(among whom there was (k) none greater than John the Baptist;) so the wisdom of the same*
 (l) Pro. 8. 15, 16. *God also said, (l) By me Kings reign, and Princes decree justice; by me Princes rule, and Nobles, even all the judges of the earth. All of them, whether supreme or subordinate, whether within or without Christs Church: For unto all of them belongeth that divine sentence delivered by*
- (m) Rom. 13. 1, 2 *St. Paul, (m) Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God: whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God.*

III. Neither doth St. Peter any whit swerve herein from his (n) beloved brother Paul, and the wisdom given unto him, when he requireth us

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(o) to submit our selves to every Ordinance of man, (o) ἡποτάγητε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κτί-
 or (as the Original hath it) to every humane crea-
 ture, for the Lords sake. Of which place we find
 divers and various Expositions; the first where-
 of, and not the worst, is that of the old Syriack
 Interpreter, who thus renders it, *Be subject to all*
the sons of men for God; or, as the framers of our
 Book of Common Prayer (in the Epistle appoin-
 ted to be read the third Sunday after Easter) seem
 to have expressed it, *Submit your selves [to] e-*
very man for the Lords sake; taking man there
 καὶ ἑξουσίαν, for a man in authority, as in Gen. 9.6.
 For the clearer understanding whereof we are
 first to note, that the Writers of the New Te-
 stament being Jews, do ordinarily frame their
 Greek according to the usage of their own Lan-
 guage; and that the Hebrews do usually design
 mankind by the name of בליית, which in his
 proper signification denoteth the creatures of God
 in general, but is by them in a peculiar manner
 appropriated to man, the noblest of the rest.
 Among the innumerable examples which might
 be produced out of the Rabbins for the proof of
 this, I will make choice of this one sentence of
 Rabbi Jeremiah (one of their ancient Doctors) reci-
 ted in Rabba bar Nachman (p) in his great Glots up-
 on Deut. for the matters sake, which may otherwis-
 serve also unto the purpose which we have now
 in hand. אַן בְּרוּחַ דֵּן הַטֵּל אֶלְמַחְקֵי דְּבִירָא הוּא.
No creature may judge the King but the holy
and blessed G O D alone. So answerable to
 this in the New Testament St. Mark doth thus
 express the tenour of the Commission given

1 Pet. 2. 13.

(p) דברים רבה
 Seder.

סופסי page
 196. b. edir.
 Cracov.

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(q) *πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει*, world, and preach the Gospel (q) to every creature : Mark 16.15. and St. Paul declareth the execution thereof,

(r) *ἐν πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει* every creature which is under heaven ; the word *κτίσις*, or creature, in both places denoting man onely. Colof. 1.23.

IV. Next, it is to be observed, that to those general termes which are applied in a special manner to the more excellent sort of the same kind, for better distinctions sake it is not unusual to adde an Epithet, whereby the restriction thereof to the intended particular may be more clearly understood. Take for example the word *ψυχή*, or *soul*, the native signification whereof in the Hebrew Tongue (and so of *ψυχή* in the Greek answering thereunto) neither descendeth so low as to comprehend the *vegetables* under it, nor riseth so high, that of it self it should onely denote the *rational* ; but in the middle kind of way betwixt both, properly doth signifie that which the Greeks call *ζῷον*, the Latines *Animal*, a creature endued with life and sense : that of the Latines being more immediatly imported by the word *ψυχή* it self, which is *anima* ; the other of the Greek by the Adjective *ζῶν living*, which for further explications sake we (s) sometimes find adjoynd to it. Yet we see withall, that *καὶ ἐξ ὧν*, or by way of excellency, *man* in particular is presented unto us by those generals, both of *living*, (as when *Eve* is said to be (t) *the mother of all living*) and of *soul* ; a name whereby he is as ordinarily set out unto us by (u) the

(s) Gen. 9.10.
Lev. 11.46.
which Rev. 16.3.
is *ψυχή ζῶσα*.

(t) Gen. 3.20.

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(u) the holy Writers, as he is by בריה or *creature*, by the Rabbins. But as the word נפש being in it self indifferent to signifie (x) both *man* and *beast*, is sometimes for better distinctions sake accompanied with the addition of (y) נפש אנושי which is as much as ψυχὴ ἀνθρώπου, or an *humane soul*; so the more general word κτίσις, or *creature*, being applied the same way, might very well here be thought to have the Adjective ἀνθρώπου, or *humane*, conjoyned with it; though for the matter nothing at all were thereby added unto it, the one word being onely an explication of the other.

V. Lastly, it may be considered, that sentences delivered in general termes are not alwayes intended to be taken in their full latitude, but to have their commodious restrictions, according to the quality and nature of the matter in hand: as, not to go further, in this self-same Chapter of *St. Peter*, we are required to (z) *honour all men*; where yet we are not to think the Apostle meant, that Masters thereby were tyed to honour their Servants, or would any way oppose that which by *David* was delivered for a character of Gods child, (a) *In whose eyes a vile person is contemned, but he honoureth them that fear the Lord*: but as *Cajetan* well expoundeth the place, *Honour all men*, that is, (b) *every one according to his degree and merit*. As therefore that general rule of his must be limited by that special explication thereof delivered by *St. Paul*, (c) *Give to all men their due, honour to whom honour is due*: so likewise this other precept of subjecting our selves to all men, must

(u) Gen. 36. 6.
Exod. 12. 16.
Num. 19. 13, 22.
Deut. 10. 22.
(with Act. 7. 14.)
Jerem. 43. 6.
1 Pet. 3. 20. and
in that very place
Rom. 13. *Let every soul* (that is, every man) *be subject to the higher powers.*
(x) Num. 21. 28.
(y) Num. 31. 35.
40. 1 Chro. 5. 21
Ezek. 27. 13.

(z) 1 Pet. 2. 17.

(a) Psal. 15. 4.

(b) *Unumquemque secundum gradum & ordinem.* Caj. in 1 Pet. 2. 17.
(c) Rom. 13. 7.

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must receive the same restriction; as if it had been said, *be subject to all men to whom subjection is due*, and that for God, and the conscience of the duty you owe unto him, who hath put you in subjection under them. Which differeth very little from the Exposition given by Bede here, (d) Every humane creature, he saith, meaning every dignity of men, every person, every principality, to which the Divine Ordinance would have us subject; for that is it which he intendeth by saying, for God, because there is no power but from him alone.

(d) *Omni humana creatura, dicit, omni dignitati hominum, omni personae, omni principatui, cui nos divina dispositio subdi voluerit; hoc est enim quod ait, propter Deum, quia non est potestas nisi à Deo. Bede in 1 Pet. 2. Subditi estote omni humanae creaturae, i. e. omnibus hominibus nobis praepositis. Haymo in Rom. 13.*

VI. David Pareus (although otherwise no very great friend to the supreme power of Kings)

(e) *ἄλλως appellatio ad Deum primum auctorem nos revocat. Etsi enim Magistratus creati, hoc est, ordinari etiam ab hominibus dicuntur, tamen eorum creator primus proprius est solus Deus, cui soli omnis creatio primo competit.*

D. Pareus in Appendice Commentar. ad cap. 13. epist. ad Roman. dubio 3.

yet putteth us here in mind, that the (e) word *ἄλλως* used in this Text, doth lead us to the consideration of God, the prime author of Magistracy: For though Magistrates (thus his words run) are said to be created, that is, ordained by men, yet their first creator properly is God alone, unto whom onely all creation primarily doth appertain. For the fuller explication of which conception, these observations following may be taken into consideration; First, that this word *ἄλλως* doth signifie either a creation or a creature; by both which the holy Writers (whose manner of speaking is here more to be respected than the language of any other Authors) do express the work, not of any mortal man, but of the Almighty and ever-living God: For him alone, as the prime efficient of all, the Scripture ho-

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honoureth with the style of *Creator*; and the answerable effect both of *Creation*, as *motus*, and *Creature*, as *res motu facta*, it ascribeth to him alone.

VII. *Secondly*, that this in the Scripture is not restrained to the first creation of all things onely, but extended likewise to the works of Gods providence, whether wrought by himself immediately, or by the intervention of other secondary causes. So the propagation of the *species* by the means of natural generation is accounted a continued *creation*; (f) and Gods blessings and judgments upon Mankind, though others be used as his instruments in the effecting thereof, are said by him likewise to be created, (g) *I forme the light, saith he, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all these things.* (h) *I have created the Smith that bloweth the coals in the fire, and that bringeth forth an instrument for his work; and I have created the waster to destroy.* In which sense also the Son of *Syrach* affirmeth (i) *Husbandry to be created by the most High*; both because the thing it self was at first ordained by him, and for the necessary upholding thereof by the industry of the Husbandman, (k) *his God doth instruct him and doth teach him.*

(f) Psal. 102. 18.
& 104. 30. Ezek.
21. 30. & 28.
13. 15.
(g) Esay 45. 7.

(h) Esay 54. 16.

(i) *γεωργίαν ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀγρονομίαν.*
Ecclus. 7. 16.

(k) Esay 21. 16.

VIII. *Thirdly*, that St. Peter by every humane creature intendeth to signifie here, not things, but persons; as is manifest by the division subjoynd, *whether it be to the King as supreme, or unto Governors, &c.* for the expressing whereof the term of *creature* is far more proper than either that of *creation*, or that of *ordinance*.

IX. *Fourthly*,

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IX. *Fourthly*, that as man, who by Gods ordi-

(l) Gen. i. 26, 28. nance was appointed to have (l) dominion over the

*Sanctius his animal, mentisq; capacius alta
Deerat adhuc, & quod dominari in cetera
posset;*

Natus homo est. Ovid. Met.

other creatures, hath by way of excellency (as we have heard) the name of *κρίσις*, or *creature*, attributed unto him, as bearing there-

* τὸ καὶ εἰκόνα τοῦ Θεοῦ βασιλεύει ἐν παντὶ κόσμῳ, καὶ ἀρχεῖ, καὶ ἐξουσιάζει πάντων ὧν ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ τῇ γῇ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀρχων, καὶ βασιλεὺς, καθίστηκε πάντων ὧν ἐπιγείων τετραγμάτων, καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ, ὁ βύβηται πρῶτος,

καθάπερ ὁ Θεός. Author. quest. 55. in Scriptur. tomo 2. oper. Athan. p. 334. Edit. Commecinian. (m) εἰκὼν εἰς τὸ Θεῷ, καὶ εἰκόνα διὰ χειρὸς ἀγεις. Thou art the image of God, and the image of God dost thou also lead and govern, saith Gregory Nazianzen to the President of his Countrey. *Orat. 17. ad cives timore percussos.* (n) Psal. 8. 6.

in a peculiar * stamp of the image of his Creator : So among men themselves, such as by Gods appointment are advanced to the dignity of bearing rule over others, by like proportion may in a more special manner have the word *creature* appropriated unto them, as carrying a deeper impression of this (m) image, and likewise of their Creator, by that power which it hath pleased him to grant to them, even over those to whom (n) over the other works of his hands he hath given dominion.

(o) Heb. 5. 1.

(p) 1 Tim. 2. 2.

X. *Fifthly*, that such a creature may very properly for distinctions sake obtain the name of *ἀνθρωπίνη κρίσις*, as Gods especial creature among and over men. For as (o) every Priest taken from among men is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer gifts and sacrifices for sins; so every civil Magistrate also taken from among men, is ordained for men in things pertaining to men, (p) that they may lead a quiet and peaceable life in

in all godliness and honesty. Whereupon the full meaning of the Apostle *Peter* in this place should be, *Submit your selves to every creature*, or to every * *man*, who is a creature constituted by God among and over *men*; for the *Lords* sake, whose creature he is in that place of Authority.

* Which kind of Enallage, where- by an Adjective is put substan- tively, hath been

observed in St. *Peter* not unusual, as namely in the second Verse of this Chapter, we translate το γάλακτος ῥάλα, *the milk of the word*, or *the word which is milk*; and in the seventh Verse of the Chapter following, ὡς ἡ δευ- σέρα σέκει τῷ γυναικεῖ ἀπονέμοντας τιμὴν, *giving honour unto the wife as unto the weaker vessel*.

XI. Calvin (q), Beza (r), and other of our later Interpreters, do thus far also deliver their opini- on, that the order of civil government is here called an *humane Ordinance*, not because men in- vented it, but because it is proper to men; or (if you will have it in Pareus his expression) (s) the Apostle calleth Magistracy an *humane ordinance or creation*, not *causally*, as if it were devised by men, or brought in onely by the fancy of men; but *subjectively*, because it is administred by men; and *objectively*, because it is exercised about the go- vernment of human society; and *finally*, in respect of the end, because it is appointed by God for the good of man, and the preservation of humane society.

(q) *Humana dici- tur ordinatio, non quòd humanitus inventa fuerit, sed quòd propria ho- minum est digesta & ordinata vi- vendi ratio.*

Calvin. in 1 Pet. 2. 13.

(r) *Humanam vo- cat, non quòd hu- manitus sit excogitata, (est enim hac quoque donum Dei praeclarum, ut Demosthenes*

etiam ipse testatur) sed quòd hominum sit propria, ut rectè observat doctissimus Interpres. Beza in eundem locum. (s) *Humanam ordinationem vocat Apo- stolus magistratum, non causaliter, quòd sit ab hominibus excogitata, & homi- num tantum libidine invelta; sed subjectivè, quia ab hominibus geritur; & ob- jectivè, quia circa gubernationem humana societatis versatur; & denique τελικῶς, quia ad hominis bonum & conversationem humana societatis à Deo est constituta.* D. Pareus in Append. Comment. in Rom. 13. dub. 3.

C

XII. But

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XII. But let us admit too that it were so called *an humane ordinance* causally; because the particular forms of government were instituted by the choice and counsel of man, and the particular form of the creation of the governours were in mans appointment; as if the Apostle had said, *Submit your selves* unto your governors, by what *ordinance* or *humane creation* soever they do hold that government, whether by succession, election, or howsoever; yet, when with the very same breath he requireth this subjection to be performed *διὰ τὸν Κύριον*, *for God*, or *the Lords sake*, he doth clearly intimate, that God is to be acknowledged *the principal*, though man be *the instrumental*, cause of their Institution.

XIII. The Ministers of the Gospel, we see, receive their Ordination from mans hand, and are appointed over their several flocks by mans election; and yet it is most true withall, that (r) *God hath set them in the Church*, (u) *Christ hath given them*, and (x) *over all the flock the holy Ghost hath made them overseers*: With whom our Saviour having promised (y) *to be alway, even unto the end of the world*, as he was at the beginning with those first Master-builders, which were Apostles (z) *not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father*; that which he speaketh of the first appertaineth no less unto the last, (a) *He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me.*

XIV. The Wife, we know, maketh choice of her Husband, and the mutual consent of the parties

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I I

ties makes up the Matrimony ; yet (b) *God* it is (b) Mat. 19.6. that joyneth them both together : and the conjunction being once made, the Wife by vertue thereof standeth bound to (c) *submit her self unto her own Husband as to the Lord.* (c) Eph. 5.22. And as God by saying to our first Mother *Eve*, (d) *Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee,* (as the Apostle out of that Law infers) commanded women to (e) *be in subjection,* and thereby established an headship in every single Family : So after the posterity of *Eve* began to be distinguished into Families, the same God, by using the like speech to *Cain* concerning his brother *Abel*, (f) *Unto thee shall be his desire, * and thou shalt rule over him,* may seem to have constituted a principality in one man over divers Families, and thereby laid the foundation of political government ; the Kingdom (as it appeareth by the (g) ordinary practice of the succeeding times) together with the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power, (the two peculiar characters thereof) being an honour that descended upon the first-born, and not upon the younger brother.

XV. Although it may not be denied, but that (without any such special direction) the very *light of Nature* would have enforced men at first to conjoyn many families into one body of a civil society, and to submit themselves to the government of some Superiour : For, otherwise a dissolution of Mankind would quickly ensue, and all come to ruine. To this purpose among the *Hebrews* that of *Rabbi Hananiah*, one of their chief Priests, is much remembred, (h) *Pray for the peace*

(h) *הוי מתפלל בשלומה של מלכות שאלם לא מודאח איש את רעהו חיים בלעו* Pirke A-

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(or prosperity) of the Kingdom; for if it were not for fear of Authority every one would swallow down quick his neighbour: Which is but an explication of that which a far better Author long before delivered touching the *Babylonian Monarchy*, (which was adverse to the Religion of the *Jews* as that under which *Hananiah* lived;) (i) *Seek the peace of the City whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace.* For the Christians you may hear *St. Chrysostom* speak, (k) *Take away the higher Powers, and all goes to wreck; neither will City, nor Country, nor Family, nor Assembly, nor ought else stand; the stronger will devour the weaker, and all things be turned upside down.* And *Cicero*, if you please, for the *Heathen*, (l) *Without government neither House, nor City, nor Nation, nor Mankind, nor Nature, nor the World it self could consist.*

(i) Jer. 29. 7.

(k) Καὶν αἰέτης τὰς ἀρχάς, πάντα διαλύσεται, καὶ ἡ πόλις, καὶ χώρα, καὶ οἰκία, καὶ ἀγορὰ, καὶ ἄλλο ἑδὲν στήσεται, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀνατραπήσεται, καὶ δυνατοτέρων τὸς ἀδυνεστερέας καταπιόντων. Chrysost. in epist. ad Rom. homil. 22. tom. 3. edit. Savil. p. 191.

Vide etiam tom. 1. p. 905. tom. 4. p. 601. tom. 6. p. 502. (l) *Sine imperio nec domus ulla, nec civitas, nec gens, nec hominum universum genus stare, nec rerum natura omnis, nec ipse mundus potest.* Cic. 3. de Legib. in initio.

XVI. True it is, that in several States there are admitted several forms of government, the supreme Authority being (m) somewhere placed in the person of one, which maketh a *Monarchy*; elsewhere in some of the chief, which they call an *Aristocracy*; and somewhere in the whole body of the people, from whence ariseth a *Democracy*.

(m) *Cunctas nationes & urbes, aut populus, aut principes, aut singuli regunt.* Tacit.

Annal. lib. 4. Ἀνάγκη δ' εἶναι κρείον ἢ ἓνα, ἢ ὀλίγους, ἢ τὰς πολλὰς. Aristot. Polit. lib. 3. cap. 5.

cracy.

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13

cracy. Likewise of *Monarchs* themselves, some come in by *election*, some by hereditary *succession*: And in all these governments the subordinate Magistrates are raised, either by the immediate appointment of the supreme, or by the *election* of such persons or Corporations as they are pleased to communicate that power unto.

XVII. If this be so, and that Nature seeketh alwayes to preserve it self, we may justly conclude, that Magistracy is cooted in the *Law of Nature*, and so in the author of Nature, that is, God himself. To which purpose, for the general, it is noted by *Plutarch*, That (n) a *Governour politick is by nature alwayes the Prince of the Commonwealth, as the master-Bee is amongst the Bees*: and by *Aristides*, That (o) all *Governours are by nature superiour to those that are under their command*; that * *this is a Law set by Nature, that the inferiour should yield obedience to the superiour*; and if any man should account the abrogation of this *Law to be a signe of liberty, he did deceive himself*; (p) the *Law of Nature being hereby inverted, which requireth us to yield unto the eminency of our superiours, and to live according to the direction of our governours.* And for the Regal Authority in particular, *Seneca* doth tell us, That (q) *Nature did first find out a King*: *Polybius*, That (r) *without any*

(n) φύσει μὲν ἐν ἀρχῶν αἰὶ πόλεως ὁ πολιτικὸς ὥστερ ἡγεμὼν ἐν μελίτταις. *Plutarch. in præcept. gerend. reip.*

(o) Πάντες μὲν ἐν ἀρχόντες φύσει κρείττους ὄντ' αὐτοῖς. *Aristid. in Orat. Platon. 1. tom. 3. edit. Græcolat. in 8. p. 76.*

* Νόμος γὰρ ὅτιν ἕτως φύσει καίμα- νθ', ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ τῶν κρείττονων καλᾶδειχθεὶς ἀκρί- εις ἢ ἢ τῶ τῶ κρείτ-

τονθ' ἅν τις ἐλευθερίας σύμβολον ποιῆται τὸ διαφθεῖρην τὸν νόμον, αὐτὸν ἐξαπαλᾷ. *Id. in Orat. de Concordiâ ad Rhodios tom. 2. p. 391.* (o) Ὅτι αἰετὸς μελαβάλλειν τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον, ὃς κελεύει τιῶν τῶν κρείττονων ὑπερβολὴν ἀνέ- χειρ, καὶ ζῆν πρὸς τὸ ἡγέμερον. *Id. in Orat. de Paraphthegm. tom. 3. p. 673, 4.* (q) *Natura commenta est regem.* *Senec. de Clemem. l. 1. c. 19.* (r) Πρῶτον μὲν ἐν ἀκατασκεύῳ καὶ φυσικῶς συνίσταται μοναρχία. *Polyb. Hist. lib. 6.*

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(s) Τῶν μὲν φύσει
 τιμιωτάτων ἀείρον
 ὁ Θεός, καὶ ὁ παῖς
 γὰρ καὶ τῶς ἀνθρώ-
 πως ὁ βασιλεὺς.
 Diotog. apud
 Stobæum, serm.

46. (t) φύσει τε γὰρ ἀρχηγὸς πάντες ὕμῶν, καὶ πατέρα καὶ ἐκγονοῦ καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ βασιλευμενῶν. Arist. Ethic. Nicomach. lib. 8. cap. 13.

art, and by the guidance of Nature it self a Monarchy was first of all constituted: Diotogenes the Pythagorean, That (s) of those which by nature are most honourable, the best indeed is God, but upon earth and among men, the King: Yea, and Aristotle himself too, That (t) by nature not onely the father hath the rule over his children, but also the King over those who are within his Kingdom.

(u) 1 Cor. 15. 24

(x) *Omnia nostra facimus quibus auctoritatem nostram impertimur.* Gloss. in c. 1. extr. de præsumptionib. & c. 1 de transactionib. ex illo Justiniani Imp. in c. de vet. jur. enunt. l. 1. *Omnia merito nostra facimus, quia ex nobis omnis eis impertitur auctoritas.*

(y) 1 Tim. 6. 15,
 16.

XVIII. But however in the Constitution of these Mans hand may be an instrument, yet being once constituted, whether supreme or subordinate, in all of them we must respect the Commission received by them from the founder of all rule, authority and power at the beginning, and (u) the resumer thereof into his own hands again at the end of the world; both because (x) we make those things our own unto which we impart our authority; and because in all power established upon earth there is represented unto us an image and superscription of that high eminency which is in him whom St. Paul (y) worthily glorifieth with the style of *The blessed and ONELY Potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords; who ONELY hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen nor can see, to whom be honour and power everlasting.* In which words it is not unworthy our observation, that the Apostle nameth him the onely Potentate, in the same sense that he saith, he onely hath immortality. For, as Angels and the souls

souls of men have immortality indeed, yet not originally from themselves, but by his donation who onely hath it absolutely in himself, without dependence upon any other: so are there other *Potentates* also, yet such as hold of him in chief, who hath onely all fulness of power in himself, and distributeth what proportion thereof he thinketh meet to those whom he hath intrusted with the government of this world; according to the acknowledgment of King David, (a) *Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the Majesty; for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine: thine is the Kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all, and in thine hand is power and might, and in thine hand it is to make great, and to give strength unto all.* (a) 1 Chron. 29. 12, 13.

XIX. Why the woman ought to cover her head (that is, her * face) in the Assembly, and not the man, St. Paul giveth this for a reason, (b) *The man is the image and glory of God, but the woman is the glory of the man.* If we respect either those inward perfections wherewith God endowed the soul at the beginning, (c) as knowledge in the Mind, (d) *righteousness and true holiness* in the Will; or that outward dominion which God granted to Mankind over the other creatures; it cannot be denied but male and female both were created by God (e) *in his own image.* But if we consider them as they stand in mutual

* As in Jerem. 13. 3, 4. Esth. 6. 12. and 2 Sam. 15. 30. with chap. 19. 21. *Miris & lanis quadam non velant caput, sed conligant; à fronte quidem protecta, quâ propriè autem caput est, nuda.* Tertullian. de veland. virgin. cap. ult. (b) 1 Cor. 11. 7. (c) Col. 3. 10. (d) Eph. 4. 24.

(e) Gen. 1. 27.

(f) 1 Cor. 11.3.

(g) αἱ γυναῖκες συν-
εκλάμπουσι ταῖς
ἡμέραις συνουσιῶν
αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ ὁ
κύριος ὁ θεὸς διδάσκει
ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ
κυρίου. Justin.No-
vel. 105.

(h) ὅπου σὺ κύριος καὶ οἰκοδεσπότης, καὶ ἐγὼ κυρία καὶ οἰκοδεσποίνα. Plutarch, in quæstionib. Romanis.

mutual relation one unto the other, or as they are heads of the œconomical government; the man, being (f) *head of the woman*, is the immediate image and glory of God, but the woman is the image and glory of the man, deriving all her power and splendor from him, as the Moon doth from the Sun, according to that of *Justinian*,

(g) *The wives receive lustre from their husbands rays*: and those solemn words which the women of *Rome* were taught to use at their Nuptials, *Ubi tu Caius ego Caia*, in effect this, (h) *Where thou art Master, there am I to be Mistress*.

XX. So, (to rise higher than household-govern-

(i) Col. 2. 12.

with 1 Pet. 3. 22.

(k) Col. 3. 10.

(l) Tit. 3. 1.

ment) God in Scripture is made (i) *the head of all principality and power*; both of the (k) *principalities and powers in heavenly places*, whose ministry he useth in the invisible, and of the (l) *principalities and powers here below*, whose labours he employeth in the visible administration of the things of this world: unto both of which therefore he is pleased to impart as well his own name, as the title of his own children. For as An-

(m) Dan. 10. 13. (n) Luke 2. 9

(o) μετ' αὐτῶν δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ.

2 Thes. 1. 7. (p) Psal. 8. 5. with

Heb. 2. 7. and Psal. 97. 7. with

Heb. 1. 6. (q) Job 1. 6. & 2. 1.

& 38. 7. (r) Exod. 21. 6. & 22.

8. 9. 28. Psal. 82. 1.

gels, (m) *the chief princes*, (invested with the (n) *glory* and (o) *power* of God) are styled (p) *Gods*, and the (q) *sons of God*; so the Princes and Judges of the earth have frequently the title of (r) *Gods* in holy Writ: And

in one place, of *Gods*, and the *sons of God* both together. Psalm 82. 6. *I have said, Ye are Gods, and all*

all sons of the most High. Which in the Chaldee Paraphraft is thus rendred; Behold, ye are reputed as Angels, and all of you as it were Angels of the most High. Such affinity in this respect there is

(s) between those celestial (t) Spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation, and those terrestrial (u) Angels of God, who are * his Ministers to us for good; even (x) Gods Ministers continually attending upon this very thing, as St. Paul witnesseth. With whom among the Heathen also Plutarsh agreeth fully, where he maketh the government of a Kingdom to be (y) a ministratation of God, and affirmeth Magistrates to (z) be Gods Minsters for the care and welfare of mankind, either in the distribution of good things not yet had, or in the preservation of good things not yet enjoyed.

(s) V. Epihan. hæres. 40. edic. Græcol. p. 284.
(t) ληϊνεσικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποσπελλόμενα. Heb. i. 14.
(u) 2 Sam. 19. 27
* θεῶν γὰρ διακονίᾳ εἶμι σοι εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν. Rom. 13.
(x) ληϊνεσοὶ γὰρ θεῶν εἰσιν, εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ το περισκαρτε-

ρεῖντες. (y) ὑποουσίαν θεῶν τὸ βασιλεύειν ἡγεμονίᾳ. Plutarch. in Num. (z) ὑποουσίαν θεῶν πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὀνηρίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν, ὅπως ἂν θεοὶ διδωσιν ἀνθρώποις καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν, τὰ μὴ νέμεσσι, τὰ δὲ φυλάττωσι. Id. ad fricem indoctum.

XXI. Now these higher Powers unto whom

it is (a) the will of God we should submit our selves (a) 1 Pet. 2. 13, for his sake, are distinguished by St. Peter into two 15.

ranks, the Supreme and the Subordinate; the King (b), the supreme; the subordinate, such Governors as are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well: Sent by the King, I mean, it being the (c) office of him that

(b) Egregium culmen habentem, as Didymus Alexandrinus here noteth.

ἐπ' ἄλλοις δ' ἄλλοι μεγάλοι, τὸ δ' ἕχαλον κορυφῆται βασιλεύσει. Pindar. Olymp. 1. sub fin. (c) προσήκει τὸ τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ μεγίστης ἀρχῆς ἀξιοθένη αἰρεῖσθαι διαδόχους, οἱ συνάρεξουσιν καὶ συνδικάσουσι, καὶ τ' ἄλλα ὅσα κοινοφελῆ συνδικήσουσιν. Philo in libro de creatione Principis.

hath the highest and greatest place of government, to chuse such assistants as shall rule together with him in the administration of those things which belong to the publick utility; so saith Philo: and after him Libanius to the Emperour of his time, (d) Indeed, if it were possible that your own bodies might be every where, there would be no need that any Magistrates should be sent by you into the provinces, you your selves being able to administer justice unto all, as the Sun is sufficient to give light unto them: but seeing that cannot be, you govern them by others, and by their sentence you do determine justice. Which made St. Paul profess before Festus the Governour, sitting at Casarea upon the Bench, that he stood (not at h's, but) at (e) Casars judgment-seat; the other supplying his room onely in that present place of judicature. The Compiler of the Apostolical constitutions (personating those times wherein the civil government stood opposite to the Christian Faith) doth thus expresse this distribution; (f) Thou shalt fear the King, considering that he is the election (or ordinance) of the Lord: thou shalt honour his Magistrates as the Ministers of God, for they are revengers of all iniquity. Where for Saint Peters hymnōtes, it is observable that he useth the word ἑρχόντες, which in the singular commonly denotes the Prince, in the plural Magistrates: a terme which in the propriety of the Latin Tongue belongs to subalterne Officers, and doth not comprehend the Prince himself, whose office it is to (g) to redress the unjust actions of the Magistrates, (g) Intercedere iniquitatibus magistratum, infectumq; reddere quicquid fieri non oportuerit. Plin. Panegyric. ad Trajan.

(d) οἱ μὲν ἔνδοξοι
 ὡς ἴσται παλαιὰ
 τὰ ὑμέτερα σώμα-
 τα, ὥς ἀρχόντων
 ἑδὲν ἂν τέτων ἔδει
 εἶναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη
 παρ' ὑμῶν πεμπο-
 ῦσθαι, ἅπαντι ὑμῶν
 τοῖς δικαζέμενοις
 ἀποχρῶντων, ὥστε
 αὐτῆς τῆς τῆς ἡλίας
 λαμπρότητος. ἐπεὶ
 οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο ἔχοντες
 δι' ἑτέρων αὐτοῖς
 ἐξεσκήκατε, διὰ τῆς
 ἐκείνων γνώμης ὑ-
 μῖς τὰς ψήφους τί-
 θεσθε. Libanius in
 ora. κατὰ τῆς προσ-
 εδρευόντων τοῖς
 ἀρχαῖς.

(e) Acts 25.6, 10

(f) τὸν βασιλεῖα
 φοβηθήσῃ, εἰδὼς
 ὅτι τῆς κυρίας ὅσῃ ἡ
 χειρονομία. τὰς ἀρ-
 χόντας αὐτῆς τιμή-
 σεις ὡς λειτουργὰς
 Θεοῦ, ἑκδικοί γὰρ
 εἰσι πάσης ἀδικί-
 ας. Const. Apo-

stolic. l. 7. c. 17. (g) Intercedere iniquitatibus magistratum, infectumq; reddere

and to make void whatsoever ought not to have been done by them. And herein he seemeth to make the same distinction between βασιλεὺς and ἄρχοντες, the King and Magistrates, which Dio Chrysostomus doth between βασιλεία and Ἀρχή; (h) Ἀρχή, or Magistracy is called a legal administration of men according to the Law; βασιλεία, or Regality, is such a government as is not subject to the controll of any. The Law is the decree of the King. A Tyranny, which is contrary to these, is a violent and illegal usage of men by one that is of greater strength.

(h) λέγεται γὰρ ἡ
ὡς ἄρχὴ νόμιμος
ἀνθρώπων διοίκη-
σις κατὰ νόμον. βα-
σιλεία δὲ ἀνυπόθετος
τῷ ἄρχῃ. ὁ δὲ
νόμος βασιλέως
δόγμα. ὁ δὲ τυ-

ραννός, ἢ ἡ τύραννος, ἐναντίον τοῖς, βίαιος καὶ παράνομος χρησὶς ἀνθρώπων τῷ
δοκῶντος ἰχθύν πλέον. Dio Chrysost. in orat. 3. de Regno. Ubi vocabuli δο-
κῶντος usum pleonasticum rectè observat vir doctissimus Joannes Pricæus: et
etiam in loco illo Marci 10.42. οἱ δοκῶντες ἄρχουσιν ὑπὲρ ἐθνῶν, pro quo Mat.
20.25. simpliciter legitur, οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑπὲρ ἐθνῶν.

XXII. For the clearer understanding whereof we may call to remembrance that difference which King James of never-dying memory, in the first book of his *Basilicon Doron* (out of Plato and Aristotle, the great Masters of political learning) doth make between a lawful King and a Tyrant: The words of that elegant Writer are to this effect; That the one acknowledgeth himself ordained for his people, having received from God a burthen of government, whereof he must be accountable; the other thinketh his people ordained for him, a prey to his passions and inordinate appetites, as the fruits of his magnanimity; and therefore that a good King, thinking his highest honour to consist in the due discharge of his calling, imployeth all his study and pains to procure and maintain, by the making and execution

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of good Laws, the welfare and peace of his people.

XXIII. For the making of Laws, whereof the force and penalty doth generally reach unto the whole Kingdom, must be an Act of the Prince : and therefore where it is said, Psal. 60. 7. *Judah is my law-giver*, the Greek and Vulgar Latin translate it, *Judah is my King*, agreeable to that in 1 Chron. 5. 2, *Of Judah came the Prince*. For (i) to this end, saith Iustinian, *God hath settled Regal power among men, that by ordering upon all occasions such things as are needful, it should both supply the uncertainty of humane nature, and conclude it within the bounds of certain Laws*. And St. Augustine to the same purpose, (k) *The divine right we have in the Scriptures, the humane right in the laws of Kings; (l) for humane rights God hath distributed to mankind by the Emperours and Kings of this world, and this (m) humane right is in the power of the Kings of the earth*. Hitherto also belongeth that of Alexi-
us Comnenus, (n) *The regal office is nothing else but a legal administration of things : the Law is that which preserveth the indemnity of the Commonwealth, removing far and expelling such things as are prejudicial to the civil State ; and the power of making the Laws is committed to the King : and that of Plutarch long before him, (o) Justice is the end*

(i) Βασιλείαν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τῆτο καθήκεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους, ὥπως αὐτὸς τοῖς δειομήτοις αἰεὶ τι διατάττωσιν τῶν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀδευσίαν ἀναπληροῖτε, καὶ ῥητοῖς περὶ κλεινοῖς νόμοις το. Cod. de vet. jur. enucl. l. 3. Græc.

(k) Divinum jus in Scripturis habemus, humanum jus in legibus Regum. August. in Joan. tract. 6.

(l) Ipsa jura humana per Imperatores & Reges se-

culi Deus distribuit generi humano. Id. lb. (m) Jus humanum in potestate regum est terra. Id. in epit. 48. ad Vincentium. (n) Μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ βασιλεία ἡ ἐννομὸς ἐπιστοία ἐστίν, νόμοι δὲ οἱ τῶν πολιτείαν τηρεῖντες ἀδιαλώβητον, πόρρον ἀπαθῆναι τὰ τὸ πολίτευμα καταβλάπτουσα, ἀφαιρᾶται δὲ καὶ τὸ νομοθετῆν βασιλευσίν. Alex. Comnen. Novel. de solutione sponsalium. (o) Δίκη νόμος τέλος ἐστίν, νόμος δὲ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἔργον, ἀρχὴν δὲ ἔκων Θεῷ. Plutarch, ad principem indoctum.

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21

of the Law, the Law a work of the Prince, and the Prince the image of God. The ἀρχων, or Prince, makes the Laws, not to himself, but to his Subjects, (to whom he standeth no way accountable for his own not observing any of them, as hereafter shall more fully be declared) the Ἀρχοντες judge and govern others according to the pre-script of those Laws, being themselves also obnoxious to them as well as other Subjects. For,

(p) Magistrates are the ministers, judges the interpreters of the Laws, saith Tully: and (q) the Laws do govern the Magistrates no less than the Magistrates do the people. To the maker of the Law Dio (in the place alledged) attributes βασιλείαν, or regal Sovereignty, which by him (and (r) Suidas out of him) is defined to be ἀνυπὺθνωσ ἀρχή, a government without check, whereof no account is to be rendred unto any man: to the ministers of the Law he ascribeth ἀρχὴν simply; by which word likewise the (s) Scholiast of Aristophanes (and (t) Suidas also from him) observe the ministerial and inferior government most usually to be understood; for (u) in every Kingdom there are many ἀρχαί, but under one King, saith Epiphanius. (x) The Prin-

ces digged the Well, the Nobles of the people digged it by direction of the law-giver, with their slaves, was a part of the Song of Israel: and (y) Moses com-

manded us a law, even the inheritance of the congregation

(p) *Legum ministri magistratus, legum interpretes iudices, legum denique idcirco omnes servimus, ut liberi esse possimus.* Cicero pro A. Cluentio.

(q) *Ut Magistratibus leges, in a populo præsunt Magistratus.* Idem init. l. 3. de legibus.

(r) Suidas in βασιλεία.

(s) *κοινότερον ἢ τὰς τοιαύτας φιλάς ὀπισθασίας ἢ λειτουργίας ἀρχὰς ἔλεγον. ἢ τὸ βαλεῖται (i. e. jussu dicere) ἀρχάς.* Schol. in Aristoph. Plut. p. 91. edit. Græcolat. anno 1607.

(t) Suidas in Ἀρχήν.

(u) *καθ' ἑκάστω βασιλείᾳ πολλὰ ἀρχαί, ἀλλ' ἓν ἔνα βασιλεία.* Epiphani. contra Archont. hæ. rel. 40.

(x) Num. 21. 18.

(y) Deut. 33. 4. 5

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gation of Jacob : and he was King in Ieshurun, when the heads of the people and the Tribes of Israel ere gathered together. Here Moses is the Law-giver and

King in Israel : the Princes and heads of the people, those ἀρχόντες and ἀρχαί, without which (2) Aristotle so oft tells us it is impossible a Commonwealth can consist. For, one man, saith Philo, though he have never so much alacrity and vigour in body and mind, cannot be sufficient to undergo the greatness and the multitude of the businesses which every day do flow one upon the neck of another, unless they have coadjutors, chosen all of them out of the best, men of known wisdom, courage, justice, piety; and who not onely are free from pride, but abhor it likewise as an hateful and exceeding great evil : for such men are most fit helpers and assistants to a good and worthy prince. For proof whereof he giveth an instance in Moses himself, who although he were a man (b) mighty in words and in deeds, and going in this his might, (as God in (c) in another place bid- deth Gideon to do) did for a time judge Israel all alone; yet meer ne-

cessity forced him in the end to profess unto the people, (d) I am not able to bear you my self alone. (e) How can I myself alone bear your cumbrance, and your burthen, and your strife? where- upon (f) he took the chief of their Tribes, wise men and

(2) Ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ εἶναι τινὰς ἀρχάς. Aristot. politic. l. 3. c. 12. ἀνευ ἀρχόντων ἀδύνατον εἶναι πόλιν. Idem l. 4. c. 4. ἥ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον ἀρχῶν χωρὶς ἀδύνατον εἶναι πόλιν. Idem l. 6. c. 8.

(a) Εἷς γὰρ ἐκ ὧν ἐξαρκεῖσαι, καὶ περ θυμώτατος ἢ καὶ πόσιων ἑρραμένεσσι ἐκάτερον σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα καὶ πλείητα. ἥ μὲν περ μαίων, ὅτι τῇ φρεσὶ ἥ ἐπιχειροῦντων καθ' ἑκάστω ἡμέρᾳ ἀλλὰ χόθεν ἄλλων, εἰ μὴ τὸς συλλεφεμένους ἔχοι πάντας ἀεισίνδου ὅτι μεγαλύνει, φρονήσει, δυναμίει, δικαιοσυνῇ, θεοσεβείᾳ, τῷ μὴ μόνον ἐκτελέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισθῶν ὡς ἐχθρῶν καὶ μέγιστον κακὸν, ἀλαζονείαν. βοηθοὶ γὰρ ἔσονται καὶ παρὰ τὰς ὁμοίων ἂν ἀνδρὶ καλῶ καὶ ἀγαθῶ τα κοινὰ ἐπηχθισμένῳ, σωπετικῶσιν καὶ ἐπελαφείν. ὅτι ἡ δεινότητοι. Philo in libro de creatione Principi. is.

(b) Acts 7.22.

(c) Judges 6.14.

(d) Deut. 1.9.

(e) verse 12.

(f) verse 15. with
Exod. 18.25.

and known, and made them heads over the people, and Officers among their Tribes.

XXIV. And yet in his wisdom foreseeing withall, that these, as many as they were, could not be able to go through with the work, nor retain the people in due obedience, without the support of a supreme governour, before his departure out of this life he presenteth God with this petition, (g) *Let the Lord, the God of the spi-* (g) Num. 27. 16, 17.
*rits of all flesh, set a man over the Congregation, which may go out before them, and which may go in before them, and which may lead them out, and which may bring them in ; that the Congregation of the Lord be not * as sheep which have no shepherd: and God thereupon giveth order unto him, that he should(h) put some of his honour upon Joshua, that all the Congregation of the children of Israel might be obedient: which honour or regal Sovereignty (for (i) Moses had no less) how fully Joshua did enjoy after his decease, this profession then made by the people may sufficiently testifie, (k) All that thou commandest us we will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us we will go. According as we hearkened unto Moses, so will we hearken unto thee: onely the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moses. Whosoever he be that doth rebell against thy commandment, and will not hearken unto thy words in all that thou commandest him, he shall be put to death: onely be strong and of a good courage. And this ratification thereof made by God himself not long after, (l) On that day the Lord magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel, and they feared him as they feared Moses all the dayes of his life.*

* See 1 Kings 22.

17.
(h) Num. 27. 20.

(i) Gen. 36. 31.
with Deut. 33. 5.

(k) Jos. 1. 16, 17, 18.

(l) Jos. 4. 14.

XXV. The supreme Governour therefore hath not more need of the subordinate Magistrates for his assistance, than they have of him to give them *life* and *motion*: no State being possibly able to subsist, unless a supremacy of power be placed in some head, from whence it may be derived through all the parts of the body polittick. A lively manifestation of this we have from

(m) ἐντεῦθεν καὶ οἱ Περσῶν χαλε-
 εντες νόμον ἔχουσι, βασιλείᾳ παρ'
 αὐτοῖς τελευτήσαντι, πέντε τὰς
 ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρας ἀνομίαν ἀγειν· ἢ
 ὡς τῷ δυσυχεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς τῷ ἔρρω-
 μαθεῖν ἡλίκον κακὸν εἶναι ἢ ἀνομία
 (σφαγὰς καὶ ἀρπαγὰς, καὶ τι χεῖ-
 ριν εἶναι ἐπαγούσα) ἵνα πισότεροι
 τοῦ βασιλέως φύλακες γίνωνται.
 Sext. Empir. adversus Mathematicos l. 2. Vide & Serinum
 apud Stobæum serm. 42.

the old (m) Persians, who for five dayes together after the decease of their King permitted the people to live lawless; that after the experience of the slaughters, rapines, and other outrages committed in that short interval, they might learn to hold their Kings in more high esteem. Which bringeth some light to that which we meet with so oft in the Book of *Judges*, and wherewith the last Chapter of that sacred Histc-

ry is concluded, *In those dayes there was no King in Israel, every man did that which was right in his own eyes.* In the same Chapter we read that there

(n) Judges 21. 16 were then (n) *the Elders of the Congregation* in the
 (o) Judges 20. 28 Common-wealth; and in the (o) Chapter going before, that zealous *Phineas* stood High-priest before the Ark in those dayes. But the want of a King, that is, of one that had the supreme managing of the sword of Justice, is assigned to be the cause of all this confusion and disorder; who being in the Scripture termed (p) *The breath of our nostrils*, (as the great Army of *Alexander* doth profess to the same effect in *Curtius*, that

(q) *they*

(q) they all did live by that one mans breath, or spirit) we may easily thence infer, That as in the natural body, the breath being stopped, life can no longer be continued; so the power of the supreme Governour being taken away, all vital influence into the rest of the Body Civil must cease therewith, and the whole State of necessity suffer a dissolution. And therefore as *Florus* writeth of the constitution of the Roman Empire under *Cesar Augustus*, that (r) No doubt it could never have otherwise conjoynd and consented together, unless it had been governed by the beck of one Ruler, as by a kind of soul and mind: So touching the continuation thereof *Seneca* in like manner addeth, (s) This infinite multitude which environs one mans soul, is by his spirit governed; and by his reason guided; which otherwise would oppress and break her self with her own force, if by his counsel she were not sustained. For, (t) He is the bend which holds fast the State together, he is that vital breath which so many thousands draw in; who otherwise as a lifeless and unwieldy load would prove a booty, if that soul of the Empire were taken away.

The King being safe, one mind unites them all; He gone, their league dissolveth, and they fall.

ta, illius spiritu regitur, illius ratione flectitur; pressura se ac fractura viribus suis, nisi consilio sustineretur. *Seneca* de *Clementia* l. 1. c. 3. (t) Ille est enim vinculum, per quod *Respublica* cohaeret; ille spiritus vitalis, quem haec tot milia trahunt; nihil ipsa per se futura nisi onus & praeda, si mens illa imperii subtrahatur. — Rege incolunt mens omnibus una est; Amisso ruperè fidem — *Id. ib. c. 4.* Versus autem *Virg.* sunt l. 4. *Georg. de apibus*, quoru sententiam hoc eodem libro c. 19. ita expressit idem *Seneca*, Amisso rege totum dilabitur examen.

(q) *Armatius exercitus regiam ob-sedit, confessus omnes unius spiritus vivere. Q. Curtius* l. 9. c. 11.

(r) *Ad Octavianum Caesarem Augustum summa rerum rediit: qui sapientia sua atq; solertia percussum undiq; & perturbatum ordinavit Imperii corpus. Quod ita haud dubie nunquam coire & consentire potuisset, nisi unius praesidis nutu quasi anima & mente regeretur. L. Florus* l. 4. c. 3.

(s) *Hac immensa multitudo, unius animae circumda-*

XXVI. Where further also it is to be considered, that the placing of the supremacy of Civil power (which the *Latines* call *Majesty*, the *Grecians* *κρείον πολίτευμα, κρείαν ἀρχήν, & ἀκραν ἰξυσίαν*) in some certain Head, is so essential to all States of government, that from it the formal difference ariseth of all the particular kinds thereof. For, although in *Switzerland* (for example) the Cantons have their several Magistrates, who during the time of their government order all things among the people, yet are they not an Aristocracy for all that, but a meer Democracy; because these Officers derive their authority wholly from the people, and to them or their Deputies they are to give an account of the exercise thereof. And although in the Common-wealth of *Venice* there be but one Duke, yet because this person is not

(u) *Imperii summam vim ipsam nunquam habuit, sed imaginem tantum quandam & umbram imperii, plus minusve, pro temporum varietate.* Nicol. Crass. Not. 15. in Donat. Jannot. de rep. Venet.

(u) invested with the supreme power of government, that State is nothing less than Monarchical. The *Lacedaemonians* had two Kings (for failing) and both of them hereditary, descending from the race of *Hercules*, and yet that hindred nothing at all

their Aristocracy; because they being subject to the oversight and controll of the *Ephori*, were

* As other inferior Princes like- but equivocal Kings, such in * name, but not in deed. For, to speak properly, by the name of a wise named, *King* (as *Gregory Nyssen* noteth) we understand Esay 10.8. Jer.

19.3. Pl. 105.30. So *Eustathius* in *Homer*. Odyss. a. Σημειώσαι ὅτι ἑμὸν ὄμιρον βασιλεῖς λέγει τὰς ἐνδόξους καὶ βασιλικὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄμιρον. & *Proclus* in *Hesiod*. ἔργων a. βασιλῆας τὰς δίκασαί καὶ τὰς ἀρχοντας λέγει. ἔτι γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκάλειν οἱ παλαιοί.

such

such an one as is (x) *his own master, and hath no other master beside*; who hath (y) *absolute power in himself*, and is no way subject to the controll of any other. And therefore when *Anthony* was so much pressed by his *Cleopatra* to call *Herod* unto question, he answered, (z) *It was not fitting a King should give account of what he did in his government, for he should be in effect no King at all.*

(x) Αὐτοκρατορα
ἢ ἀδελφόν ἢ βα-
σιλέα καλεῖται.
Greg. Nyssen.
contra Eunom.
l. i.

(y) τὸ αὐτοκρατέω
τε καὶ ἀναρχον.
Ibid.

(z) ὅτι γὰρ ἔστι κα-

λὸς ἔχειν Ἀρλόγιον, βασιλέα περὶ τοῦ καὶ ἀρχὴν γενησέμενον ἐνθῶς ἀπαλῆν ἔως
γὰρ ἀνὲρ βασιλεὺς εἶναι. Joseph. Antiq. l. 15. c. 14.

XXVII. On the other side, in our high Court of Parliament, although the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses (representing the whole body of the Commons) bear the shew of a little Democracy among us, and the Lords and Nobles (as the *Optimates* of the Kingdom) of an Aristocracy; yet our government is a free Monarchy notwithstanding: because the supreme Authority resteth neither in the one nor in the other, (either severally or joyntly) but solely in the person of the King, at whose * pleasure they are assembled, and without whose Royal assent nothing they conclude on can be a Law forceable to bind the Subjects. Whereupon by a special Act of the same great Court it is declared, (a) that the Kings Highness must be acknowledged to be the *ONLY SUPREME GOVERNOUR* of His Dominions in all causes whatsoever. Which could not stand, if that either Court it self, or any other power upon earth, might in any cause over-rule him: I say any power, whether *Forreign* or *Domestical*.

* Quis tanta est
authoritatis ut
nolentem princi-
pem possit ad con-
vocandos patres
sacerdosq, procures
coarctare? Justi-
nian. Novel. 23.

(a) Statut. Angl.
an. 1. Eliz. (&
Hibern. an. 2. c.
juidem) cap. 1.

(b) Sophocles in
Antigona, vers.

1177.

(c) Xiphilin. Excerpt. ex Dionis Marc. Aurelio.

(d) αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλ-
λαι πολιτεῖαι τεύ-
πον τινὰ κατέμνηται
κατέῃσι, καὶ φερέμεναι
φέρουσι ἢ πολιτικὸν
ἐκ ἔχοντα τὴν ἰχθυὸν
βάσαιον ὅπῃ τέτε
(τέτων) παρ' ᾧ ἔ-
χει τὸ ἰχθυόν, ἀλλὰ
πολλάκις εἰς αἰμα-
ζόμηνον τὸ ἀχλύει-
ον ἀναφωτῆν, &c.
Plutarch.

* Vide Philonem
Jud. initio lib. 1.
de Monarchia.

(ε) Τῆς μὲν ἐν ἀν-
θρώποις ἐκλήσεως τὸ
ἀνώτατον, καὶ ἄσυν-
κείτοις διαφοραῖς

καὶ ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀνεγκύος τε καὶ ὑποκείμενος ὑμῖν (ὡ φιλόχειροι βασιλεῖς) καὶ κληρὸς ὑμῖν ἐξαιρετός τε καὶ πρέπων παρὰ θεῶν καὶ ἐκείνης ὡπλίστων ὑπορχῆς, ἐκείνος γὰρ ὅτι γῆς τὸν ὄρεος, εἰς. ἴσοι δ' ἀν' ἡς καὶ ὅτι ὑμεῖς σαλπύταται. ἡ δὲ ἔτω φειφανὲς καὶ ἀνωλ' ἔτω πασῶν ἐκκλείας, διαπρέποντα καὶ ἐκέρηνη καὶ τύπον ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐς καὶ καὶ ἐς ἡς ἡ δὲ ἀξιομάτων πηγὰς, καὶ ἀπαύσεως ὑπορχῆς ἐπέκεινα. Cyril. initio libri de recta fide ad Theodosium.

rial State, to be an image upon earth of the supreme Majesty of Almighty God in heaven. And you (saith he to the Emperours) (f) you alone, who have obtained power over all men, are as it were a kind of expression and imitation of that Kingdom which is in heaven. Whereunto may be added that of the Author of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament (in the 4. Tome of St. Augustine's Works) (g) The King hath the image of God; and the Author of the Commentaries upon the Epistles of St. Paul, who (not without great probability) is thought to be the same, howsoever bearing the name of St. Ambrose, (h) Kings are created for the correcting of our life, and the keeping back of adversities; in this having the image of God, that all the rest should be under one. And of Joh. Sarisburienfis, (i) The Prince, as sundry do define him, is a publick power, and a kind of an image of the divine Majesty upon earth. To which definition, or description rather, we may refer that of Menander,

(k) Εἰκὼν ὃ βασιλεὺς ὅτιν ἔμψυχον Θεῷ.

The King is a living image of God.

And that of Diotogenes the Pythagorean, that

(l) The King having a power uncontrollable, and being himself a living Law, is the figure of God among men. And those admonitions of Agapetus unto the Emperour Justinian, (m) Seeing thou hast

no edit. an. 1569. (l) ὁ ὃ βασιλεὺς ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἀνυπεύθυνον, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀν νόμον ἔμψυχον, Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις παρεχάμεται. Diotog. apud Stobaeum serm. 46.

(m) Τιμὴς ἀπάσης ἀνθρώπων ἔχων ἀξίωμα, βασιλεὺς τίμα ὡς πάντας ἢ τίς σε ἀξιώσαντα θεόν ὅτι καὶ ὁμοίωσιν τῆς ἐπερανίης βασιλείας ἐξαιέσαι τὸ σκῆπτρον τῆς ἀπείρου δυνάμεως. Agap. Par. c. i.

(f) Τῆς ἐν ἡμετέροις βασιλείαις ἐν ἡμετέροις ὡς περ τι καὶ μίσημα τοῖς θεοῖς τῆς γῆς ὡς μετ' ὃ καὶ μέντοι τὸ κατὰ τῶν λαχόντων κατὰ τὸν ἴσον in Apologet. ad eundem.

(g) Quat. 25. ex vet. & nov. Test.

(h) Principes hos reges dicunt, qui propter corrigendam vitam & prohibenda a ver-

sa creantur; Dei habentes imaginem, ut sub uno sint ceteri. Ambr. in Rom. 13.

(i) Eft ergo, ut eum plerique definiunt, princeps potestas publica, & in terris quaedam divine majestatis imago. Jo. Sarisbur. Polycratic. l. 4. c. 1.

(k) In Monarchia ab H. Stepha-

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attained to a dignity higher than all other honour, do thou also above all others honour God, who was pleased so to dignifie thee, according to the similitude of his heavenly Kingdom, giving unto thee the scepter of this earthly principality. For although (n) the King, in regard of the nature of his body be of the same mould with every other man, yet in respect of the eminency of his dignity he is like unto God, who is Lord over all; (o) whose image he beareth, and by him holdeth that power which he hath over all men.

(n) Τῇ αὐτῇ εἰσὶν
τὰ σώματα ἴσα
παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ
ὁ βασιλεὺς, τῇ ἐξ-
ουσίᾳ δὲ τῷ ἀξι-
ώματι ὅμοιοι
ὅτι πρὸς ἑπὶ πάν-
των Θεῶν. Ibid. cap. 21.
αὐτῷ κατέχει τὸ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀρχὴν. Ibid. cap. 37.

XXIX. If we consider God in his own sublime Majesty, the Scripture will tell us that (p) *his Throne is in heaven*; but if we look upon him in these his Vicegerents, which do so immediately represent his person among the sons of men, in the same Scripture we may find out another Throne of his, prepared here on this earth, which is his (q) *foot-stool*. Thus, where in the History of the Kings we read that (r) *Solomon sat upon the throne of David his father, and his Kingdom was established greatly*: In the Chronicles we have it thus expressed, (s) *Then Solomon sat on the throne of the LORD as King instead of David his father, and prospered, and all Israel obeyed him*. And, where in the former the Queen of Sheba is brought in speaking unto the same King after this manner, (t) *Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighteth in thee to set thee on the throne of Israel*: In the later her speech is thus related, (u) *Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighteth in thee to set thee on HIS throne,*

(p) Psal. 11.4. &
103.16.

(q) Esay 66.1.
Mat 5.35.

(r) 1 Kings 2.12

(s) 1 Chro. 29.23

(t) 1 Kings 10.9.

(u) 2 Chro. 9.8.

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throne, to be King for the LORD thy God. And as the Kings throne is accounted Gods throne, so the Kings themselves also are styled his Kings and his Anointed; (x) *He shall give strength unto HIS King, and exalt the horn of HIS Anointed,* saith Hannah in her Song: And David likewise in his, (y) *Great deliverance giveth he to HIS King, and sheweth mercy to HIS Anointed.*

(x) 1 Sam. 2. 10.

(y) Psal. 18. 50.

2 Sam. 22. 51.

XXX. Where further also it deserveth special consideration, that this sacred title of *the Lords Anointed* is not onely attributed to (z) *David* and (a) *Josiah*, and such good Kings as God in his mercy did raise up unto his people; but to (b) *Saul* also, a King whom (c) he gave unto them in his anger: nor to those who were of the Commonwealth of *Israel* alone, but to *Cyrus* an Hea-then Emperour, of whom it is written, (d) *Thus saith the Lord to his Anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue Nations before him:* who, although at first he did not know his founder, yet at last by publick Proclamation he made this large acknowledgment of him, (f) *Thus saith Cyrus King of Persia, All the Kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord God of heaven given me, and he hath charged me to build him an house in Jerusalem.* Yea, he that gave the Empire to *Cyrus* that should (g) *build his City, and let go his captives,* gave the same unto *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had before destroyed the same City, and led the people into captivity; whereof the Prophet *Daniel* did thus put him in mind; (h) *Thou, O King, art a King of Kings, for the God of heaven hath given thee a Kingdom, power and strength and glory:* and afterwards

(z) 2 Sam. 12. 7.

& 19. 21. & 23. 1

(a) Lam. 4. 20.

(b) 1 Sam. 12. 3, 5

& 24. 6, 10. &

26. 9, 11, 16, 23.

cum 2 Sam. 1. 14,

16.

(c) 1 Sam. 8. 7.

(d) Esay 45. 1.

(e) Ib. verse 4, 5.

(f) 2 Chron. 36.

23. Ezra 1, 2.

(g) Esay 45. 13.

(h) Dan. 2. 27.

- (i) Dan. 5. 18, 19. wards his Grand-child in these words, (i) *The most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy father a Kingdom, and Majesty, and Glory, and Honour; and for the Majesty that he gave him, all people, nations and languages trembled and feared before him: whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down.* And he that gave Cyrus the title of his *Anointed*, gave to this Nebuchadnezzar also the style of his (k) *servant*; the same where- with those choicest governours, (l) *Moses*, (m) *Joshua*, and (n) *David*, were graced by him.

(k) Jer. 25. 9. & 27. 6. & 43. 10.

(l) Num. 12. 7, 8. Psal. 105. 26.

(m) Jos. 24. 29.

(n) Psal. 18. 1. & 78. 70.

(o) *Kings are from Love.* Hesiod. Theogon. verse 96.

(p) *Nourished by Love.* Ib. vers. 82.

(q) Acts 17. 24, 28.

(r) Callimach. hymn. in Joven.

XXXI. That Kings derive their power, and hold their crown from God, is a truth which even Heathen writers do acknowledge no less than Christian, (o) ἐκ τῆς Διὸς βασιλῆες — was the saying of old *Hesiod*; whereby he makes God their *procreant* cause, as elsewhere their *conservant*, by giving them the title of (p) Διοτρεφεῖς, (and what the Poets ascribe to *Love* the Apostle gives to (q) *God*, we know.) The former is more largely expressed thus by (r) *Callimachus*, (whose Verses, together with all the following, are of the translation of my ingenious and learned friend Mr. I. P.)

Ἐκ τῆς Διὸς βασιλῆες ἐπὶ Διὸς ἐδὲν ἀνάκτων
Θεοτέρων, τῷ δὲ σφι τελευτᾷ κείναι τὰ ξιν.

*Kings are from Love, none so divine as they
Whom he calls his, and in his place bids sway.*

The later is set down by *Homer* in this manner,

(s) Iliad. β. vers. 196, 197.

(s) Θυμὸς δὲ μέγας ὅτι Διοτρεφέῃ βασιλῆϊ.
Τιμὴ δ' ἐκ Διὸς ὅτι, φιλεῖ δὲ ἐμψιέτα Ζεὺς.

The

*The anger of a King is great ;
Him Fove himself doth nourish :
From him his honour springs,
And by his love doth flourish.*

Where note with *Eustathius*, that Kings are called *διογενῆς* & *διογενεῖς* (1) not as deriving their pedigree from *Fove*, but their Kingly honour. And this is delivered also by the same Poet, under the person of sage *Nestor* reproving *Achilles* for contending with King *Agamemnon* ;

(1) ἐκ ὅτι ἐκ Διὸς τὸ γένος ἔλκυσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξ ἡμένης αὐτοῖς ἡ τιμή, ἡ τῆς βασιλείας δηλαδὴ. *Eustath.* p. 199. ed. Rom.

(2) Μῆτε σὺ Πηλεΐδ' ἤθελ' ἐκτελεῖν βασιλῆι
'Αντιβίω ἐπὶ ὑποῖ' ὁμοῖος ἔμμορε τιμῆς
Σκηπτέχ' βασιλεὺς, ᾧ τε Ζεὺς κύδ' ἔδωκε.

(2) *Iliad.* α. verse 277, &c.

*Pelides strive not with the King,
His honour is a different thing
From thine : his power is from above,
His scepter is the gift of Fove.*

And directing his speech to *Agamemnon* himself,

(3) Λαῶν ἐσὶ ἀναξ, καὶ ται Ζεὺς ἐγκυάλιζε
Σκηπτέρον τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνα σφίσι βελεύηται.

(3) *Iliad.* θ. verse 97, &c. cum *Iliad.* β. verse 205, 206.

*Thou rulest many nations, Iove a scepter did thee lend,
And laws, that to thy peoples good thou might'st attend.*

Whence *Eustathius* also inferreth, that (γ) the Kingly Office is a good gift of God, and that (z) the King hath both his scepter and his jurisdiction from God.

(γ) Θεοῦ δόλον ἀγαθὸν ἢ βασιλεία. *Eustath.* in *Iliad.* 2. p. 202, 203. edic. Rom.

(z) ὁ ἀναξ καὶ σκηπτέρον Θεὸς ἐχει καὶ θέμιστας *Idem* in *Iliad.*

9. p. 738.

The Power of the Prince.

And with *Homer*, the Prince of Poets, doth *Plato* likewise, the Prince of Philosophers, acknowledge

(a) Πλάτων βασι-
λείαν θεῶν ἀγαθὴν
ἐν ἀνθρώποις καλεῖ.
Synes. in orat. de
Regno.

(b) Οἶον Θεὸν ἐξ
ἀνθρώπων. *Plato*
in Politico.

(c) Δέδοκεν ὁ Θεὸς
αὐτῷ τὴν ἀγεμονί-
αν. *Diotog.* apud
Stobæum term.

46.

(d) ὅς βασιλείαν
παρὰ Διὸς ἐχόντων
† ἐπιτεπλῶ καὶ †
δωάμιν. *Dio* orat.
1. de regno.

Ὅταν ἀνθρώπος ἀ-
φελῇ, τότε νομίζει
τὸ προσήκον ἐπιτε-
λεῖν, ἅτε ὑπὸ τῆς μεγίστης Θεοῦ ταχθείς ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ ἔργον.

Id. orat. 3. de regno ad
Trajanum. ὅς μόνον τὸ προσλατρεῖν ἔνεκεν ὁ Θεός. *Id.* Ibid. (e) *Te dedit, qui*

erga cuncte hominum genus vice sua fungereris. *Plin.* Paneg. ad *Trajanum*.
(f) Βασιλείαν ἐκ τῆς ἑσάνθης κατέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ὁ Θεός. *Themist.* orat. 5. de
Imp. Theodosii humanitate. Vide & orat. 12. ad *Jovinianum* *Imp.* ubi eti-
am regia illa epitheta, *Διοσκούρι καὶ Διοτρεφῶν*, ex *Homero* repetit. * *Homer.* Ili-
ad. β. verse 204, 205.

(a) the Regal office to be a divine good among men ;

and makes his (b) King as it were a God among men.

Diotogenes the Pythagorean saith, that (c) God hath

given him dominion. (d) *Dio Chrysostom* toucheth

often the same thing. *Pliny* telleth the Emperor

Trajan, that God (e) gave him to be his substitute

toward all mankind. And *Themistius* affirmeth,

that (f) God from heaven did send regal power unto

the earth. Our Christians also that lived under

the first persecutions, though they had occasion

enough thereby given them to decline the go-

vernment of those times and Emperours, did yet

both acknowledge and reverence Gods ordinance

in the advancement of them. And therefore

when *Celsus* the Epicurean Philosopher had cited

that place of *Homer*,

— — — — * εἰς κοίαν ὁ ἔσω,
εἰς βασιλεὺς, ὃς ἔδωκε κέρνε παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω.

and inferred thence against the Christian, † If

thou wilt not admit this document, the

King may justly punish thee : Ori-

gen admitteth it, so that instead

of the fabulous sonne of Saturne

the true GOD be nominated,

(g) who

† ὡς ἐν τῷ τῷ λύσῃ τὸ δόγμα,
εἰκότως ἀμυνεῖται σε ὁ βασι-
λεὺς. *Celsus* apud *Originem*.

The Power of the Prince.

35

(g) who setteth up Kings and removeth them, and in his own time raiseth upon the earth such an one as is useful to the state. For, it is not, saith he, the son of Saturn (who expell'd his father from his government, and cast him into hell, as the fables of the Grecians report) that setteth up Kings; but it is the God who governeth all things, that knoweth when and in what place to appoint the erection of Kings. And so concludeth, that (h) the King could not justly punish them for saying that it is not the son of crafty Saturn that gave him power to reign, but he who is the remover and setter up of Kings: and wisheth that all would do the like, rejecting the Homeric, and embracing the divine doctrine touching the constitution of a Kingdom, and observing the precept which requireth them to honour the King. To this purpose also Theophilus Bishop of Antioch thus declares himself, (i) I will honour the King, not adoring him, but praying for him: Him that is God indeed, even the true God, I adore; knowing that by him the King is ordained. And again, He is not himself God, but a man appointed by God; not to be worshipped, but to judge righteously; being after a sort entrusted by God with this administration. Athenagoras (addressing his speech joyntly to Aurelius and his son Commodus) (l) To you the power of all

(g) Ἄλλ' ὃ ἔδωκεν ὁ καθιστῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ μεθιστῶν, καὶ τὸν χρεῖσμον καὶ κατεῖν ἐξέρων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἔχ' ὁ καταλαβὼν ἐσθλὸν (ὡς οἱ μῦθοι Ἑλλήνων λέγουσι) Κεῖναι ἴδε ἀπελάσας τὸτον τῆς ἀρχῆς, καθίστησι βασιλεῖς, ἀλλ' ὃ δυνάμειν τὰ σύμπαντα Θεός, οὐδὲν ὅτι πολὺ ποιεῖ καὶ τὸ τόπον τῆς τῆς βασιλείων καταστάσεως. Orig. l. 8. contra Celsum.

(h) Ἄλλ' ἔδ' εἰκότως ἡμᾶς ἀμειβεσθαι βασιλεῖς, φάσκοντας μὲν ὅτι ἔκρινεν πάντας ἀγκυλομήτεω ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸ βασιλεύειν, ὃ καὶ μεθιστῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ καθιστῶν. Καὶ τὰ αὐτὸν ποιεῖται μοι ἅπαντες, τὸ μὲν

Ὁ μπεικὼν καταλύοντες δόξαι, τὸ δ' ὁθεὶν αὐτὸν βασιλείας τηρεῖν, καὶ τὸ τὸ βασιλεῖα τιμᾶν φυλάττοντες. Id. Ibid. (i) Τοιγαρὲν μᾶλλον τιμήσω τὸ βασιλεῖα, ἢ προσκυνοῦν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ εὐχόμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεῶν ὅτι τῷ ὄντως δεῶν καὶ ἀληθεῖ προσκυνοῦν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γέγονεν. Theo. h. ad Autolycum l. i. (k) Θεὸς γὰρ ἐκ δυνάμεως, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ δεῶν τεταγμένον, οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνοῦν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ δικαίως κείναι τρέφω γὰρ εἰς τινὲς παρὰ θεῶν οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευται. Ibid. (l) Ὑμῖν πατεὶ καὶ ὑμῶν πάντα καχεῖσθαι, ἀνδρὲς καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐιληρόσι. Athenag. legat. pro Christian.

(m) ἡμεῖς τὸ ἓνα
θεὸν καὶ δημιουργὸν
τῶν πάντων καὶ τὸ
βασιλεῖαν ἐκ χει-
ρὸς αὐτῶν φιλοθεοῦσιν
Ἰουλιανῶν καὶ Γα-
λιηνῶν σεβαστοῖς,
τῶτον καὶ σέβοντες καὶ
προσκυνῶντες. Dion.
adv. Germanum,
apud Euseb. l. 7.
Hist. Eccl. c. 11.

(n) Cujus jussu
homines nascun-
tur, hujus jussu
reges constituun-
tur. Iren. l. 5. c. 24

(o) Inde est Impe-
rator unde & ho-
mo antequam Im-
perator; inde po-
restas illi unde &
spiritus. Tertul.
Apolog. c. 30.

(p) Sed quid ego
amplius de religi-
one atq; pietate
Christianâ in Im-
peratorem? quem

neceſſe eſt ſuſpiciamus, ut eum quem Dominus noſter elegit: ut meritò dixerim,
noſter eſt magis Caſar, ut à noſtro Deo conſtitutus. Ibid. c. 33. (q) Chriſtianus
nullius eſt hoſtis, nedum Imperatoris; quem ſciens à Deo ſuo conſtitui, neceſſe eſt
ut & ipſum diligat, & revereatur, & ſalvum velit. Id. ad Scapul. c. 2. (r) Sed
& juramus, ſicut non per genios Caſarum, ita per ſalutem eorum, quæ eſt auſtior
omnibus genis. Neſcis genios demonas dici, & inde demonia? Nos judicium
Dei ſuſpicimus in imperatoribus, qui gentibus illos præfecit. Id enim in eis ſcimus
eſſe, quod Deus voluit; ideo q̃ & ſalvum ipſum volumus eſſe quod Deus voluit;
& pro magno id juramento habemus. Id. in apol. c. 32.

ſaith

things is committed, ye have received the Kingdom from above. And Dionysius of Alexandria, (m) We worship and adore that one God and maker of all things, who hath committed the Kingdom to our sacred Emperors Valerianus and Galienus. Irenæus, having proved this point at large by testimony of Scripture, concludes his discourse elegantly with these words, (n) By whose command they are born men, by his command likewise they are ordain'd Kings. And so Tertulian after him, (o) Thence is the Emperour from whence he was a man before he became Emperour: thence hath he his authority from whence he hath his breath. And again, (p) What should I speak more of the religious and observant respect of Christians towards the Emperour? whom of necessity we must reverence as one that our Lord hath chosen; so as we may truly say, Caſar is rather ours than yours, as being ordained by our God. And in another place, (q) A Christian is enemy to no man, much less to the Emperor, whom knowing to be appointed by his God, he must of necessity love, reverence and wish safe. Which safety and health of the Prince he sheweth to have been so highly esteemed by the Christians, (even when thus they suffered persecution from them) that they us'd to make mention of it in their Oaths; (r) We swear,

saith he, *not by the Genii of the Casars, (which are no other than Devils) but by their Health, which to us is exceedingly more venerable than those delusions. We reverence in our Emperors Gods judgment, that hath made them Governours over the Nations: For that we know to be in them which God would have to be: and therefore would have that to be safe which God appointed; and make account of that as a great Oath.*

And so under the Christian Emperors, as *Vegetius* tells us, the Oath administred unto the Roman Souldiers was, (s) *By God, and Christ, and the holy Ghost, and by the Majesty of the Emperor; which, next after God, was by mankind to be loved and honoured:* whereof he gives this reason, (t) *To the Emperour, when he hath received the name of Augustus, faithful devotion is to be exhibited, and all vigilant service to be performed, as unto a present and * corporeal God. For a man, whether private or military, doth serve God, when he faithfully loves him who reigns by the authority of God. Which reason, whether it hath force sufficient to introduce the Emperours either Health or Majesty into the form of a solemn Oath, I will not at this time debate: but for the thing it self, that God hath constituted Princes over Nations, and that they reign by his Authority, is a matter as generally acknowledged in the times of the Christian, as before*

(l) *Per Deum, & per Christum, & per Spiritum sanctum, & per maiestatem Imperatoris, quæ secundum Deum generi humano diligenda est & colenda. Fl. Veget. de re militari l. 2. c. 5.*

(t) *Nam Imperatori, cum Augusti nomen accepit, tanquam presenti & corporali Deo fidelis est præstanda devotio, & impendendus pervigil famulatus. Deo enim vel privatus vel militans servit, cum fideliter eum diligit qui Deo regnat auctore. Ibid.*

* *Athanasius Gothus apud Jornand. de rebus Geticis c. 28. Deus sine dubio terrenus est Imperator; & quisquis adversus eum manum moverit, ipse sui sanguinis reus existit.*

fore it was in the dayes of the Heathen Emperours.

The first Christian Emperour *Constantine* used this speech sometime unto his Bishops, (u) *You are the Bishops of those things which are done within the Church; but I am appointed by God to be the Bishop of those things that are done without the Church:* meaning that the oversight of the external government of things belonging to the Church was by God committed unto him, as well as the administration of the holy things of God within the Church was unto them. And of this he gave good proof in the Mandate which he directed to the Bishops assembled in the Council of *Tyre*, for the discussing of the cause of *Athanasius*, (x) *that all of them should immediately repair unto his Court, to shew by their acts how purely and incorruptly they had judged; and that before me, saith he, whom you may not deny to be Gods true minister.* Which title he elsewhere also assumes unto himself, as unto one (z) *whose ministry God had found out and judgd to be fit for the accomplishment of his good pleasure.* And although his son *Constantinus* did labour with might and main to introduce the *Arrian* Heresie into the Church of God, yet did *Hosius* Bishop of *Cordaba* for all that freely profess, that (a) *God had*

(u) Ὑμεῖς μὲν τῶν
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,
ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς τῆς
ἐκκλησίας, ὡς
ἐπὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν.
Euseb. de vita
Constantini l. 4.

(x) ἵνα πάντες ὅ-
σοι τὸ σωῶν τῶν
ἐν Τύρῳ ἡρώων
πληρώσατε, ἀνυ-
περβέτως εἰς τὸ
σεβαστόπεδον τῆς ἡ-
μετέρας εὐσεβείας,
(al. ἐμῆς ἡμετέρας
τῆς) ἐπειχθῆτε,
τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιδεί-
ξαντες τὸ τῆς ὑμε-
τέρας κείσεως κα-
θαρὸν τε καὶ ἀδιά-
σερρον, ὡς ἐμὲ δη-
λαδὴ, ὃν τὸ θεῶν
γνήσιον εἶναι δεξι-
πονοῦν ἀν' ὑμῶν ἀρνηθῆναι. Const. ep. ad Synod. Tyri apud Athan. in apol. 2.
& Soc. l. 1. hist. eccl. c. 34. (y) παραχρῆμα τῆς ἰδίας τόλμης διὰ τῆς τῆς δεξιπονοίας
τῆς θεῆς, τῆς ἐμῆς, ἐνερθείας ἀνασταλέλαι. Id. in ep. ad Nicomed. apud Theod.
l. 1. hist. eccl. c. 19. (z) Τὸν ἐμὴν ὑπερείαν πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ βέλυσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξή-
τησέ τε καὶ ἔκρινεν. Idem in edicto ad Palestinæ Provinciales apud Euseb. l. 2.
de vita Const. (a) Σοὶ βασιλείαν ὁ θεὸς ἐπεχίρεισεν. Hosius apud Athanas. in
epist. ad solitariam vitam agentes.

committed the Kingdom to him, and therefore (b) who-
soever did detract from his Empire, did contradict God
that constituted it. And four other Bishops (Paulinus
of Trier, Lucifer of Calaris, Eusebius of Vercelli, and
Dionysius of Millain) upon the same ground made
bold to tell him, (c) That the Kingdom was not his,
but Gods who gave it unto him; whom they advised
him therefore to fear, lest he should suddenly take the
same again from him. And Athanasius being per-
secuted by him prayed, (d) O Lord almighty, King
of the world, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou
by thy word hast given to thy servant Constantius this
Kingdom; do thou so enlighten his mind, that he
may perceive how I am calumniated, and so receive
graciously my Apology: attributing hereby to
Constantius, the grand patron of the Arrians, the
same power which Julius Firmicus did to him and
his brother Constans, (e) The high God hath com-
mitted unto you the Empire. And Pope Leo the
Great giveth it to the Emperours (f) Theodosius,
Marcianus and Leo; Pope (g) Hormisdas to the
Emperour Justinus; and Gregory the Great to
Mauricius; unto whom when he had written in ge-
neral terms, that (h) power was given unto him o-
ver all men, he declareth it more specially in his
Letter unto his Physician Theodorus, that God

(b) ὁ ὅτι εὐὸ ἀρχὴν
ἐποκλήτων ἀντι-
λέγει τῆς διαλαξα-
ντος τοῦ βασιλέως.

(c) Μὴ εἶναι τὴν βα-
σιλείαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ
τῶν θεῶν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ,
ὃν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι αὐ-
τὸν ἠξίουν, μὴ ἐξαίρ-
ναι αὐτῷ ἀρέμ-
ται.

(d) Δέσποτα παρλο-
κρότος, βεσιλεύ
τῆς αἰώνων, ὁ πατὴρ
τῆς κυρίας ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ, σὺ διὰ τῶν σὲ
λόγων τὴν βασιλείαν
ταύτην πρὸς δεξι-
ποῦντι Κωνσταντίῳ
δέδωκας· σὺ λόμ-
φον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν
αὐτοῦ, ἵνα γνῷς τὴν
καθ' ἡμῶν συκοφαν-
τίαν, εὐφροῶς αὐτὸς
δέξῃται τὴν ἀπολο-
γίαν. Athanas. in
apologia ad Con-
stantium.

(e) Ad hoc vobis

Deus summus commisit imperium, ut per vos vulneris istius plaga curetur. Jul.
Firmicus Matern. de errore profan. relig. c. 17. (f) Unde per ipsum Dominum
nostrum Jesum Christum, qui regni vestri est auctor & rector, obtestor & obse-
cro clementiam vestram. Leo epist. 38. ad Marcian. Imp. (g) A Deo electi,
sicut & credimus. Hormisd. epist. 27. ad Justin. (h) Potestas Dominorum
meorum pietati coelitus data est super omnes homines. Gregor. 1. Registr. l. 2.
epist. 62. ad Mauricium.

had

(i) *Dominarium non solum militibus, sed etiam sacerdotibus concessit.* Ibid. epist. 65. ad Theodorum.

had (i) granted him dominion not onely over souldiers, but also over Priests : as Pope Gelasius had written before him to the Emperour Anastasius, (k) *The Bishops obey thy Laws, knowing the Empire to be conferred upon thee by order from above.*

(k) *Cognoscentes imperium tibi supernâ dispositione collatum, legibus tuis ipsi quoq; parent religionis antistites.* Gelas. ep. 8. ad Anastas.

(l) *Κλειῶ καὶ καθίστα βασιλεῖς καὶ μεθίστα, καὶ ἐκ ἐστὶν ἐξουσία ἐν μὴ καὶ θεῷ τεταγμένη.* Basil. in Plal. 32.

(l) *The Lord, saith St. Basil, setteth up Kings, and removeth them, and there is no power but what is ordained by God.* And St. Augustine, (m) *Let us not attribute unto any other the power of giving Kingdoms and Empires but to the true God.* And Petrus Chrysologus Archbishop of Ravenna, (n) *If all power be from God, then hath the King received the dignity of his Regal office from God.* And the Apostle purposedly declareth, that (o) *the powers that be are ordained of God,* to the end no man might think that these are to be slighted as humane devices. For they see that a divine right is attributed to humane authorities, said the Author of the Commentaries upon St. Pauls Epistles, ascribed to St. Ambrose. Hereupon Cyril Patriarch of Alexandria putteth Theodosius the younger in mind, that (p) *the lot of that high dignity, whereunto he was advanced, fell unto him from God: and that (q) the unmoveable prop of his Empire was our L. Jesus Christ, by whom Kings do reign, as it is written; yea, (r) to*

(m) *Non tributus dandi regni atq; imperii potestatem nisi à Deo vero.* Aug. de civ. vit. Deil. 5. c. 21

(n) *Si à Deo potestas oranis, à Deo rex etiâ dispensationis Regiæ adjunctus est dignitatum.* Chrysol. serm. 26

(o) Rom. 13. 1.

(p) *κλήροισι ὑμῶν ἐξαιρετός τε καὶ πρῶτος παρὰ Θεοῦ.* Cyril. initio lib i de fide ad Theodosium. (q) *ἔρεσμα ὃ τὸ ἀκράδαντον τῆς ἑταυ Θεοφιλες καὶ εὐαγεσάτης ὑμῶν βασιλείας, αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσι, καὶ οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν γράφουσι δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τὸ γεγενημένον.* Ibid. (r) *ὥστε ἀντρέπει καὶ μόρω πρὸς χερῶν λέγειν, δι' ἐμὲ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσι.* Idem in præfat. librorum adveri. Julianum.

whom

whom alone it belongeth to say, By me Kings reign ; as he writeth unto the same Emperour, in the Preface before his Books against the Apostate Iulian, who (s) knew not that Christ was the giver of the Kingdom and power of Ruling. So likewise in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, not onely the Monks, which held with Discorus, conclude their Petition unto the Emperour Marcian with an acknowledgment, that Chr:st (t) of his own good pleasure did in an invisible manner bestow the Empire upon him: but also the Bishop and Clergy of Nicomedia begin their Letters unto him and Valentinian in a like style ; (u) God hath justly granted unto you to reign and rule over all, for the welfare of the world, and the peace of the holy Churches : the six Armenian Bishops theirs unto the Emperour Leo thus ; (x) God, who glorifieth them that glorifie him, hath graciously given unto you, Christian Prince, power over all men without any prohibition : and Abalaric King of the Gothes his unto the Clergy of the Church of Rome in this manner ; (y) We owe so much the more to the Deity, by how much we have received greater things than other men : For what correspondent thing can he repay to God, who by his

(s) Ἀγνοήσας ὅτι τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Id. ibid.

(t) πρὸς καὶ ἀόρατος τῇ ἰσχύϊ ἐνδοκίμα χαρισσαμένῳ ἡμῶν τὸ βασίλειον. Archimandritar. ep. ad Marcian. in Conc. Chalcedonens. Act. 4. tom. 2. Concil. part. 1. p. 237. edit. Constantin. 1618.

(u) Θεὸς τὸ βασίλειον ἡμῶν καὶ κρατὴν τοῦ ὅλων, ὅτι σωτηρίαν τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ εἰρήνην τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐκκλησιῶν, δικαίως ἀπεδώκεν. Eunom. Nicomedens. episc. epist. ad Imp. in Conc.

Chalcedonens. Act. 13. p. 308. (x) Deus, qui glorificantes se glorificat, secundum cor suum apicem vestra tranquillitatis inveniens inexpugnabilem, palmam & honorem Fidei consistentem, placidus praeiit vobis (Christianissime Principum) super omnes homines sine prohibitione aliqua potestatem. Insurgentes enim inopinabiliter subdidit victoriis atq; incomparabilibus triumphis, & vestram pietatem excellentissimis honoribus exornavit ; immutata & sine litigio, & ab aliis indivisa praebens sceptrum vestri imperii. Conc. Chalced. part. 3. p. 395. (y) Tantò Divinitati plura debemus quantò ceteris mortalibus maiora suscepimus. Nam quid simile rependat Deo qui potitur Imperio ? Cassiodor. 1.8. epist. 24.

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gift enjoyeth an Empire? Of which point *Agapetus Diaconus* teacheth *Justinian*, (who at the same time was Emperour in the East) to make this use,

(z) Ἐξ ὁσμίου τοῦ
Θεοῦ πιστευθεὶς βα-
σιλείαν. μνηνὶ
χρῶ ἡς ποιεῶν
πρὸς τὰς ἡς παρ-
μάτων διοικήσεις.
Agapet. Parane-
tic. c. 30.

(a) Σκῆπτρον βασι-
λείας παρὰ Θεοῦ
δεξιᾶν, οὐκ ἐπὶ
πῶς ἀρέσεις τῷ
ταύτῳ σοι δεδω-
κότι· ὡς πάντων
ἀνθρώπων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
περικυκλωθεὶς, πλεον
πάντων ἐπείγει κα-
ταγεραίρειν αὐτόν.
Idem c. 16.

(b) Nefas est in
ambium deducere
ejus potestatem cui
omnium governa-
tio superno constat
del. gata iudicio.

Concil. Toletan. 6. c. 14.

(c) Nemo regum à progenitoribus regnum sibi ad-
ministrari, sed à Deo veraciter atq; humiliter credere. debet dari, &c. Qua-
propter quisquis cæ- is mortalibus temporèlter imperat, non ab hominibus, sed à
Deo sibi regnum commissum credat, &c. quia non astu, non voto, neq; brachio
fortitudinis humana, sed virtute, imò occulto iudicio dispensationis divina reg-
num confertur terrenum. Concil. Paris. 6. c. 5. tom. 2. Concil. Gallix p. 529.

(d) Si quis potestati reg'æ, qua non est, iuxta Apostolum, nisi à Deo, contumaci ac
inflato spiritu, contra auctoritatem & rationem, pertinaciter contradicere præ-
sumpserit, &c. anathematizetur. Concil. Meldens. c. 15. tom. 3. Concil. Gal-
lia p. 36.

(z) Seeing God hath entrusted you with this Kingdom
of the world, use none of the wicked to the admini-
stration of your affairs: and again, (a) Seeing you
have received the scepter of the Kingdom from God,
consider how you may please him who gave the same
unto you; and being by him exalted above all men,
strain your self more than all others to honour him.

Let us adde to this the sentence of the Council
of Toledo, (b) It is unlawful to call his power into
question to whom the government of all is known to
be delegated by judgment from above: and of Paris,

(c) No King is to think that his Kingdom cometh un-
to him by his progenitors, but ought truly and humbly
to believe that it is given unto him by God: for
whosoever hath the temporal rule over other men, is
to believe that the Kingdom is committed unto him
not by men, but by God; forasmuch as this earthly
Kingdom is obtained neither by craft, nor by wish, nor
by the arm of mans strength, but by the power and se-
cret judgment of the providence of God. So likewise

the Council held at Meaulx declareth out of St.
Paul, that (d) the Regal power is from God: and

that

that of *Aken* puts *Lotharius* (e) in mind of his vocation, that *Christ* the King of Kings, who on earth in his name had substituted him for the worthy dispensation of his office, might in heaven remunerate him. And in a third held at *Trosley* the Bishops do both acknowledge out of *St. Peter*, that (f) the Regal sublimity is constituted by God; and pray for their King, that (g) having well performed the government committed unto him from him who gave him the temporal Kingdom, he might receive that which is everlasting. And the French Bishops, in the profession which they made unto *Carolus Calvus*, (h) promise their faithful assistance for the upholding of him in the Kingdom which God had bestowed, or should bestow upon him: as in a former Oath also his Subjects (i) promised the like assistance for the maintaining of that power which in the Regal name and Kingdom God had granted unto him.

(e) *Christianissimo principi ad memoriam reduximus, ut non immerito vocationis sue, quod nomine censeur opere compleat; ut rex regum Christus, qui sui nominis vicem illi contulit in terris, dispensationis sibi creditæ dignam remunerationem reddat in cælis. Concil. Aquisgran. 3. c. 1. ibid. p. 189.*

(f) *In quo factò Pontificalem sic ex-
rexerimus auctoritatem, ut non*

obliviscamur Regiam à Deo constitutam esse sublimitatem; dicente Apostolo, Subjetti estote regi quasi præcellenti. Concil. Trosleian. c. 2. ibid. p. 539. (g) Hac vobis commissæ decenter administratione peracta, ab eo qui temporale vobis dedit regnum, accipere æternum. Ibid. p. 541. (h) Fidelis vobis adjutor ero, ut regnum quod vobis Deus donavit, vel donaverit, ad ipsius voluntatem &c. habere & obtinere possitis. Capitular. Caroli Calvi à Jac. Sirmundo edit. c. 38. p. 387. (i) Fidelis vobis adjutor ero, ut illam potestatem quam in Regio nomine & regno vobis Deus concessit, ad ipsius voluntatem, & ad vestram ac fidelium vestrorum salvationem, cum debito & honore & vigore tenere & gubernare possitis. Id. c. 22. p. 165.

The time would fail me to recount all the passages which occur in the Constitutions of *Justinian* to this purpose; this taste onely for the present may be sufficient, *The greatest gifts*

(k) Μέγιστα ἐν ἀν-
θρώποις ἐστὶ δ' αὖτε
Θεῷ, παρὰ τῆς ἀνω-
θεν δεδομῆς φι-
λανθρωπίας, Ἱερω-
σύνη τε καὶ βασιλεία,
Ὅς. ἐν μιᾷ τε καὶ
τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς
ἐκάλειε περιῦσα, καὶ
τὸ ἀνθρώπινον κα-
τακοσμεῖσα βίον.
Just. Nov. 6. init.

(l) Μηδὲν ἄβρατόν
ἔστιν εἰς ζήτησιν τῆς
βασιλείας, κοινῶν
πάντων ἀνθρώπων
ἐπιστάσιον ἐν Θεῷ
παραλαβόν. Id.
in Novellæ 133.
proximo.

(m) Deo auctore
nostrum gubernan-
te Imperium, quod
nobis à cœlesti ma-
jestate traditum
est. Cod. de ver.
jur. enucl. in init.

(n) Nutu divino Imperiales suscepimus infulas. l. fin. in fi. c.
de quadrienn. præscript. which Agapetus in his admonitions to him num. 45.
did thus iterate, Νεῖματι Θεῷ τὴν βασιλείαν λαβόν. (o) Per ipsum (Christum)
tunc Imperii suscepimus. l. 2. in princ. c. de offic. Præf. Præf. Afr. (p) ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς
τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐπέσχεσε πρῶτα. Novel. 47. (q) Ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ὧν ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
δίδωκεν ὁ θεός. Ibid. (r) Νόμων πολιτικῶν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ φι-
λανθρωπίαν ἐπέσχευσε. Novel. 137. init. (s) Ἐπειδὴ βασιλείαν διὰ τοῦτο ὁ θεός ἐξ
ἐρανῶ καθῆκεν, ὅς. ὡς ἡμεῖς χρῶμαι, καὶ τὸν γὰρ τὸν νόμον, καὶ δύναι ἐν κοινῷ τοῖς
ὑποκόμοις, ὁποῖοις ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς πρότερον τε παρέδωκε, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αὖτε προσέθησι.
Novel. 73. (t) ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὧν ἡμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσι, τὴν μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἔδω-
κεν ὁ θεός, τὴν δὲ προσέθηκεν, ἥ δ' ἔτι καὶ δώσει (ἐπεὶ τις τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς) Novel. 60.
ubi ad Homericum illud allusisse videatur, Iliad. α. Τῶν τε καὶ ἀλλ' ἔδωκεν ἐκ-
βίλῃ, ἥ δ' ἔτι δώσει. the

(k) which Gods goodness from above hath conferred
on men, are the Priesthood and Empire; both of
which do proceed from one and the same principle,
and are for the ordering and disposing of the affairs of
mankind. (l) Nothing is exempted from the cogni-
zance of Regal power, which hath received from
God the general charge of all sorts of men. And
of himself in particular, (m) The Empire is deli-
vered unto us by the heavenly Majesty. (n) By the
divine appointment we took upon us the Imperial
robes, and (o) the rights of the Empire by our Lord
Jesus Christ. (p) God did set us over the affairs of
the Romans, and (q) gave us rule over the Nations.
(r) He according to his benignity entrusted us with the
power of the Laws. And (s) forasmuch as for this
end God from heaven hath constituted the Regal pow-
er, we thought good to write this Law, and give it
in common to those Subjects which both already he
hath committed to us, and by little and little doth dai-
ly add to. As also in a like expression he willeth
other Laws of his to be observed, not in the Im-
perial city alone, but also (t) in all those Nations,

(n) Nutu divino Imperiales suscepimus infulas. l. fin. in fi. c.
de quadrienn. præscript. which Agapetus in his admonitions to him num. 45.
did thus iterate, Νεῖματι Θεῷ τὴν βασιλείαν λαβόν. (o) Per ipsum (Christum)
tunc Imperii suscepimus. l. 2. in princ. c. de offic. Præf. Præf. Afr. (p) ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς
τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐπέσχεσε πρῶτα. Novel. 47. (q) Ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ὧν ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
δίδωκεν ὁ θεός. Ibid. (r) Νόμων πολιτικῶν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἡμῖν ὁ θεός καὶ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ φι-
λανθρωπίαν ἐπέσχευσε. Novel. 137. init. (s) Ἐπειδὴ βασιλείαν διὰ τοῦτο ὁ θεός ἐξ
ἐρανῶ καθῆκεν, ὅς. ὡς ἡμεῖς χρῶμαι, καὶ τὸν γὰρ τὸν νόμον, καὶ δύναι ἐν κοινῷ τοῖς
ὑποκόμοις, ὁποῖοις ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς πρότερον τε παρέδωκε, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αὖτε προσέθησι.
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βίλῃ, ἥ δ' ἔτι δώσει. the

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45

the government of some whereof, saith he, God at first gave to us ; others he hath since added, and we hope will still increase. And from hence he neglected not often to make mention of that duty which he held himself bound thereby to performe unto his Subjects ; (u) Since the time, saith he, that God did set us over the Empire of the Romans, we have been diligent to do alwayes what might conduce to the profit of the Subjects of this Common-wealth where-with God hath entrusted us : and (x) to preserve all our Subjects, the government of whom God hath committed unto us, without hurt or damage. (y) Alwayes by Gods assistance we use all providence to preserve from hurt the Subjects which he of his benig-nity hath committed unto us : and (z) we think it is manifest unto all those who are well-minded, that all our care and prayer is, that those may live well who are committed to our trust by God our Lord.

(u) Ἐξ ὧν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέστητε βασιλείᾳ, πάσῳ τιθίμεθα σπουδῶν, πάντα περὶ τὴν αἰὲν τὰ πρὸς ἀφείλειαν τῶν ὑποκόων τῆς ἐμπι-σευθείσης ἡμῶν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ πολι-τείας. Novel. 86. init.

(x) Σπεύδομεν πάντας τὸς ἡμετέ-ρους ὑποκόους, ὥν τῷ

διοίκησιν ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὀπίσειυσεν, ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστους φυλάττειν. Nov. 85. init.

(y) Ἀεὶ μετὰ τῷ θεῷ βοηθείας πᾶσαν ποιέμεθα πρόνοιαν τῷ τὸ ὑποκόον, τὸ παρὰ τῆς αὐτῆς φιλανθρωπίας παραδοθὲν ἡμῖν, ἀβλαβεῖς φυλάττεσθαι. Novel. 80. init.

(z) Πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ὅτι εὖ φρονέσι περὶ δηλον εἶναι νομίζομεν, ὅτι πᾶσα ἡμῶν ὅτι σπουδὴ καὶ ἐνχρῆ, τὸ τὸς πιστευθέντας ἡμῶν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καλῶς βιωῶν.

His Successour *Justinus* is by *Corippus* brought in speaking thus,

*Imperii Deus est virtus & gloria nostri,
A quo certa salus, sceptrum datur atque potestas.*

God is the strength and glory of my Crown,
From him my safety, scepter, power come down.

Where-

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Whereof he himself likewise giveth a touch in
 (a) one of his Constitutions. And after him Ti-
 berius acknowledgeth it was (b) God that gave him
 the government of the Common-wealth, ἡ ἐκ Θεοῦ βασι-
 λεία ἡμῶν, (our Sovereignty constituted by God) is a
 style we meet withall in the (c) Novels of Con-
 stantius and Basilus Porphyrogennetus. And Ma-
 nuell Comnenus beginneth one of his thus, (d) The
 wisdom of the Ancients defined Regal power to be a
 legal administration of things, a divine matter; and
 accordingly did both believe and profess it to be a
 great part of the providence of God almighty. The
 same Manuel also both in his (e) Coyns expressed,
 and in his Letters wrote himself to be (f) crown-
 ed by God. Which honourable title of Θεοσεφής his
 predecessors the Constantinopolitan Emperors not
 onely of themselves assumed, but the Bishops of
 Rome acknowledged due to them; (g) Gregory 2.
 (with the (h) Roman Council held under him;) (i)
 Zachary and (k) Paul 1. dating their Acts in this
 manner, Imperante Domino piissimo Augusto, à Deo
 coronato, magno Imperatore.
 (e) See in Octav. de Strada (de Imperatorib. Rom.
 p. 338.) the Medal, wherein Christ is figured putting on a Garland upon
 the Emperours head. (f) Divinitus coronatus. Eman. Comnen. literæ ad
 Fridericum apud Albert. Stadenf. in chronic. an. 1179. (g) Gregor. epist.
 2, 9, 14, 17. Concil. tom. 3. part. 1. sect. 1. p. 340, 343, 344, 346. edit. Co-
 lon. an. 1618. (h) Concil. Roman. ibid. p. 347. (i) Zachar. epist. 1, 4, 5,
 6, 8, 9, 10, 12. ibid. p. 364, 366, 367, 370, 371, 373, 375. (k) Paul.
 epist. 1. & 2. ibid. p. 401, 402.

So Pope Hadrian 1. beginneth one of his Let-
 ters to Charles the Great with (l) Meminit vestra
 cæl. Gallix p. 122 à Deo promota Regalis excellentia: and Charles
 him-

himself one of his capitulars with (m) *Regnante Domino nostro Jesu Christo in perpetuum, ego Carolus, gratiâ Dei ejusque misericordiâ donante, Rex & rector regni Francorum.* And when he was afterward crowned Emperor, the people of Rome with an unanimous consent used this solemn acclamation unto him, (n) *Carolo Augusto, A DEO CORONATO, Magno & Pacifico Imperatori Romanorum, Vita & Victoria.* Whereof Alcuinus also doth put him in mind, by telling him as in the general, that (o) *the Imperial dignity was ordained by God: so for his own particular, that this power was conferred on him by God, not for the government of the world alone, but especially for the defence of the Church, and the gracing of wisdom.* Among the German Emperours Frederick I. maketh a like acknowledgment and profession, (p) *Forasmuch as by the appointment of the divine clemency we have ascended to the throne of Regal Majesty, it is fit we should thoroughly obey him in our actions by whose gift we have attained to this preeminence.* And Lewis of Baviere sheweth largely in one of his Rcripts out of the Canon Law it self, that (q) *the Imperial power and authority is immediately from God alone: and in another, (r) by the counsel and* & sapientie decorem collatam. Id. ep. 106. (p) *Quoniam divina præordinante clementia solum Regiæ majestatis conscendimus, dignum est ut cujus præcellimus munere, illi omnino pareamus in opere.* Feudor. l. 2. tit. 27. de pace tenenda & ejus violat. (q) *Ex quibus & aliis pluribus, quæ brevitatis causa dimittuntur, clarè patet, quod potestas & autoritas Imperialis est immediate à solo Deo, & non à Papa.* Ludov. Imp. apol. in append. ad Hen. Rebdorsensis annal. à M. Frehero edit. (r) *Ideo ad tantum malum evitandum, de consilio & consensu Electorum & aliorum Principum Imperii, declaramus quod Imperialis dignitas & potestas pendet immediate à solo Deo.* Id. in lit. aliis apud H. Balbū episc. Gurcensem in l. de coronat. ad Car. 5.

(m) Capitular. Aquigranens. ibid. p. 130.

(n) Eginhard in annal. Franco. an. 801. Anonym. vitæ Caroli M. scriptor à P. Pithæo edit. Anastas. Bibliothecar. in vita Leon. 3. P.

(o) Dignitas Imperialis à Deo ordinata. Alcuinus Præfat. in libros de S. Trinitate. * Unde patenter agnosci poterit, non tantum Imperatoriam vestræ prudentiæ potestatem à Deo ad solum mundi regimen, sed maxime ad ecclesiæ præsidium

con-

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consent of the Electors and the other Princes of the Empire, maketh a solemn declaration to the same purpose, that the Imperial dignity and power immediately dependeth upon God alone.

Yea, in the more ancient times we have marks of this Truth from the very Painters, who (s) by corporeal things representing those which were incorporeal (as *Isidorus Pelusiota* noteth) used to figure a single hand crowning the heads of Kings; to shew that their authority descended to them from heaven. Which expression of a divine act by a simple hand out of a cloud, as for the general, both in the *Greek Genesis* or *Latine Psalter* of *Sir Robert Cotton*, (the most ancient of any now extant, and coming not much short of *Isidorus* his own time) I have observed to be very usual; so for this particular you may note the continuation of the like Embleme unto later Ages in (t) this reverse of the Emperour *Theophylactus* his Medal, stamped about the Year **DCCCXII.**

(s) ὁ ζωσθεῖσθαι ἵνα
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων
 τόλμης ἢ ἀποδείξιν
 ποιῆσθαι) σωμα-
 τοποιῶντες τὰ ἀ-
 σώματα, χεῖρα
 γραφεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσι
 μόνῳ, εἰρησάν ἢ
 τῆς γῆς βασιλευσί-
 των τὰς κορυφάς,
 ἵνα δείξωσιν ἐξ
 οὐθὲν αὐτοῖς ἢ ἀρ-
 χὴν δεδῶσθαι. *Ibid.*
Peluf. l. 3. ep. 161
 (t) apud *Octav. de*
Strada de Impe-
rat. Rom. p. 294.



Having search'd thus far into the ground of Sovereignty, and (by reasons and witnesses of all sorts) deduced the original thereof from no lower an head than heaven it self, let us now look a little into those Royal Prerogatives which are annexed to the eminent estate of such supreme Governours. These *jura Majestatis*, of old, (for the more distinct notice, and better preservation of them) were sometimes written in a *book*, sometimes engraven in *tables of brass*; and so transmitted safely to posterity. Thus when (u) *Samuel* had declared to the people this *jus Regium*, it is said, that he wrote it in a book, and laid it up before the Lord: and when the *Jews* had chosen *Simon* the brother of *Jonathan* for their Prince, they caus'd the chief heads of that supreme power committed unto him, (x) to be put in tables of brass, (x) 1 Mac. 14. 18 and to be set up within the compass of the Sanctuary in a conspicuous place: Wherein, beside the charge of the Sanctuary, and the care of placing Officers over the Works, the Countrey, the Armour, and the Fortresses, it was further enacted, That he should be obeyed of every man, and that all the Writings in the countrey should be made in his name, and that he should be clothed in Purple, and wear Gold. Also that it should be lawfull for none of the people or Priests to break any of these things, or to gain-say his words, or to gather an assembly in the country without him, or to be clothed in purple, or wear a buckle of gold. And whosoever should doe otherwise, or break any of these things, he should be punished. Where among other things, it is observable, that the gathering of Assemblies is reckoned as an especial privilege

(γ) Ἐταιρείας μὴ
ποιεῖτε, μήτε σωώ-
δους, ἄνευ τῆς ἐμῆς
γνώμης: αἱ γὰρ
τοιαῦται συστάσεις,
ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις
πολιτείαις πλεονεκ-
τεῖσιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς μο-
ναρχίαις κινδυνεύ-
ουσιν. Isocrat. in Nicocle. (z) Σωμαστίαι καὶ συστάσεις ἑταιρεῖαι τε ἥκιστα μοναρχία συμφέρει. Dio hist. Rom. l. 52. Vid. tit. de Colleg. & Corpor. in Pandect.

(a) *Roma senatus
cuncta p i cipiū
solita Vespasiano
decernit.* Corn.
Tacitus hist. l. 4.

(b) *Fœdusve cum
quibus volet face-
re liceat.* Vet. In-
script. à Grutero
edit. p. 242.

(c) *Hisq; quibus
legibus pl bisve
scitis scriptum fu-
it ne Divus Aug.
Tiberiusve Julius*

*Cæsar Aug. Tiberiusq; Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanicus tenerentur, iis legi-
bus plebisq; scitis Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus solutus sit.* Ibid. (d) Διωλεῖται τῶν
νόμων, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ Λατινικὰ ρήματα λέγει, τέλεισιν, ἀπὸ πάσης ἀναγκῆς νομίσεως
ἔσσι, καὶ ἐδενὶ τῶν γερουσιαστικῶν ἐνέχοισιν. Dion. hist. Rom. l. 53.

vilege of the Prince. To which purpose both re-
markable and agreeable is that of *Isocrates*, who
under the person of King *Nicocles* thus instructs his
Subjects; (γ) *Make no societies nor conventicles
without my licence: Assemblies of this kind, as in o-
ther governments they are hurtful, so in Monarchies
they are exceeding dangerous.* Whereunto that of
Mecenas in *Dio* may be likewise added, (z) *Com-
binations, and assemblies, and associations, are things
that do not very well consist with a Monarchy.*

When (a) the Senate of *Rome* had decreed to
Vespasian such rights as did usually belong to Prin-
ces, the particulars (according to the manner a-
bove mentioned) were put into brass tables; the
last of which is still there extant; removed from
the *Lateran* Church (where it stood fixed a long
while) unto the *Capitol*: In that, beside the pow-
er of (b) *confederating with whom he would*, and
many other privileges, we find this high Prero-
gative confirmed unto him, (c) that what Laws so-
ever either of the Senate or people it was ordain-
ed that the Emperors his predecessors were not
tyed to, from those he should be loose also:
Which, according to the mind of the Civilians, is
expressed thus, (d) *They are loosed from the Laws,*
(as the letter of their own Language speaks) that is,

they

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they are free from all coactive obedience to them, and are held by none of the written Ordinances : shewing that they were exempted, first, from all coaction of the Law, (this being accounted (e) the happiest thing in a Princedome, that the Prince may be constrained to nothing) and then from all obligation to the written or positive Law, which here is opposed to that which Tully calleth the (f) not written, but innate Law ; (g) from which (as he well observeth) neither by the Senate nor by the people exemption can be given.

(e) Ereptum q₃ principi illud in principatu beatissimum, quod nihil cogitur. Plin. Pa- negyr. ad Trajan. (f) Est hac non scripta, sed nata lex ; quam non di-

dicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa arripimus, hausimus, expressimus ; ad quam non docti, sed facti, non instituti, sed imbuti sumus. Cic. orat. pro Milone. (g) Huic legi nec obrogari fas est, ne q₃ derogari ex hac aliquid licet, ne q₃ tota abrogari potest : nec verò aut per Senatum aut per populum solvi hac lege possumus. Id. l. 3. de Republ. apud Lactant. l. 3. c. 8.

For the more full understanding hereof, observe we the distinction to be made between these three kinds of Laws, the Law of God, the Law of the King, and that which is Gods Law and the Kings together. Under the first of these we comprehend also the Law of Nature ; of which (as the same Tully rightly noteth) (h) God, that one common master and ruler of all, is the inventor, arbitrator and enacter ; which he who will not obey,

(h) Unus erit communis quasi magister & imperator

omnium Deus ille, legis huius inventor, disceptator, lator ; cui qui non parebit, ipse se fugiet, ac naturam hominis spernabitur, atq₃ hoc ipso luet maximas poenas, etiamsi cetera supplicia qua putantur effugerit. Id. ibid. Hanc video sapientissimorum fuisse sententiam, legem ne q₃ hominum ingenii excogitatam, nec seicū aliquod esse populū, sed aeternū quiddam quod universum mundum regeret, imperandi prohibendi q₃ sapientia. Ita principem legem illam & ultimam mentem esse dicebant omnia ratione aut cogentis aut vetantis Dei. Id. l. 2. de Legibus.

must in a sort fly from himself, and reject mans nature ; and consequently undergo the greatest pains from his own conscience, although he should escape all those other which commonly are accounted punishments. Now to this moral law of God, whe-

(i) Rem. 2. 14, 15

ther (i) by nature thus written in the hearts of men, or more fully delivered in Gods own written Word, or by just consequence deduced from the grounds of either of them, the greatest Monarch upon earth owes as much obedience as the lowest and meanest of all his Subjects: And therefore the Civilians themselves, (k) who deny the King to

(k) ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς νόμοις ἔχ' ὑπόχρεται. Basilic. l. 2. tit. 6. c. 1. Harmenopol. epitom. juris l. 11. tit. 1. sect. 48.

(l) ἡ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἑαυτῇ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ νόμος. Basilic. i. bid. c. 9. Harmenopol. ibid. sect. 39.

(m) Sunt autem

præcepta quædam perpetuam habentia necessitatem, apud omnes gentes legitima, & quæ omnino impune solvi non possunt. Ante Legem, sub Lege, sub Gratiâ, omnes lex una constringit, "Quod tibi non vis fieri alii ne feceris ; & quod tibi vis fieri hoc facias aliis. Procedant nunc dealbatores potentum, susurrent, & (si hoc parum est) publice præconentur, Principem non esse legi subiectum, & quod ei placet (non modo in jure secundum formam æquitatis condendo, sed qualitercunque) legis habere vigorem. Regem, quem legis nexibus subtrahunt, si volunt & audent, ex legem faciant : Ego non modo his renitentibus, sed mundo reclamante, ipsos hæc lege teneri confirmo. Jo. Sarsburiens. Polycratic. l. 4. c. 7.

forth, let them whisper, or (if that be too little) let them preach publicly, that the Prince is not subject to the law, and that what pleaseth him (not onely in the making of a law, according to the tenour of equity, but any way whatsoever) hath the force of a law. Let them, if they will and they dare, make the King, whom they exempt from all obligation of the law, to be a lawless person: Whatever not onely they, but the whole world shall say to the contrary, I will stand to it, that they are bound by this law.

For although (n) the King be Lord of all, yet is he the servant of God together with all: Nay, for Gods law, we find that the King had this particular charge laid upon him above others, (o) It shall be when he sitteth upon the throne of his Kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book, out of that which is before the Priests the Levites. And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the dayes of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them. That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment to the right hand or to the left; to the end that he may prolong his dayes in his Kingdom, he and his children in the midst of Israel. Whereupon Philo bringeth in the King using this Soliloquy, (p) I being so great a Prince did write these things, not using any other Scribe, having so many

(n) Κύνειτο μὲν πάντων ὅτιν ο βασιλεὺς, δὲ ἄλλοι δὲ μὲν τὰ πάντων ὑπαρχοῦσι θεῷ. Agapet. Paten. ad Justinian. c. 68.

(o) Deut. 17. 18, 19, 20.

(p) Ἐγὼ τὰυτ' ἔγραψα ὁ τοσούτων ἄρχων, μὴ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὑπερήρη

ἐτέρῳ, μνείων ὄντων, &c. ὅπως αὐτὸ ἐν βίβλῳ γράφων, ἐνθὺς εἰς τὸ ψυχρὸν μέλα-
γράφω, καὶ ἐναπομάττωμαι τῇ διανοίᾳ θεοτότερος καὶ ἀνεκπλήρωτος χαρᾶς κινήσεως. Οἱ μὲν
ἐν ἄλλοι βασιλεῦς βακίλειαις ἔχοντες σκηπτεφορέουσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ σκηπτέρον ἡ βίβλος
ἔσται τῆς ἐπινομίδος, καύχημα καὶ κλέος ἀναπαυώνισον, ὅπισθιμον ἡγεμονίας ἀνεπι-
λήπτε περὶ ἀρχέτυπον δὲ θεῶν βασιλείαν ἀπεικονιζέσης. Philo in libro de creati-
one Principis.

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thousands under me : to the end that while I did write them in the book I might transcribe them into my soul, and imprint in my mind those divine characters never to be washed out again. Whereas other Kings therefore bear staves for their scepter, this abridgement of the Law shall be my scepter, my rejoicing and glory uncontrollable, the ensign of that unreprouvable government which is fashioned according to the pattern of Gods own Kingdom. So that nothing hereby is detracted either from the liberty of the King, while he is made subject unto him whose service is perfect freedom; or from his power, while he is left (q) to do nothing else but that which God shall commend. For while hereby we (r) temper the majesty of Caesar (as Tertullian speaketh) under God, we commend him the more to God, unto whom alone we do subject him : he being (s) therefore great, because he is less than heaven.

(q) ἡλίλιω ἐξουσίαν
ἔχει ἀνθρώπων, μὴ
ποιεῖν ἄλλο ἢ ὅπερ
μέλλει ὁ Θεὸς ἐπα-
νεῖν. M. Antonin.
l. 12. de vita sua.

(r) Temperans

majestatem Caesaris infra Deum, magis illum commendo Deo, cui soli subijcio. Tertul.apol.c.33. (s) Ideo magnus est, quia cælo minor est. Id. ibid. c.30.

By the law of the King I understand such Ordinances as are merely civil and positive; the coactive power whereof being derived from him who is the supreme Law-giver under God on earth, he himself cannot properly be said to be tied thereby. For as with the Grammarians the Imperative Mood hath no first person, so with the Civilians (t) No man can command or forbid himself; at leastwise, (u) No man can impose such a Law upon him-

(t) Ne quis imperare
sibi, ne quis se probi-
bere quæquam po-
test. Marcian.in.l.
Si de re sua. De
recept.arbit.Vid.

& Ulpian.in l. Ille à quo, § Tempestivum, D.ad Senatusc.Trebellian. & in l. Quod autem, § Uxori quis. D.de donat. inter. vir. (u) Nemo eam sibi potest legem dicere, ut à priore ei recedere non liceat. Hermogenian. in l. Si quis § 1 D. de legat.3.

self,

self, but that he may recede from it when he pleaseth.

And with the Schoolmen, (x) *A law hath power to direct such acts as belong to those who are subject to the government of another; whereupon no man, if we speak properly, doth impose a law upon his own acts.* As no man there-

(x) *Lex est directiva actuum qui conveniunt subjectis gubernationi alicujus: Unde nullus, propriè loquendo, suis actibus legem imponit.* Thom. 1. 2. quæst. 93. artic. 5.

fore is superiour to himself, so no man hath jurisdiction over himself; because none can oblige a man against his will, but onely his superiour; and the jurisdiction over a mans self may be dissolved at pleasure. To which kind of voluntary submission unto the laws that memorable saying of *Valentinian* the younger may be referred,

(y) *It is in truth a greater thing than the Empire to submit the Principedom it self unto the laws:* and that of *Alexander Severus*, (z) *Although the law of the Empire hath freed the Emperor from the solemnities of the law; yet nothing is so proper for empire as to live by the laws,* and that which both

(y) *Revera majus Imperio est submittere legibus Principatum.* 1. 4. C. de leg. & constitut.

Severus and *Antonius* set down so oft in their Rescripts, (a) *Although we be loosed from the laws, yet we live by the laws.* Whereunto also we may adde

(z) *Licet lex Imperii solennibus juris Imperatorem solverit, nihil tamen tam proprium Imperii est quam legibus vivere.*

that commendation which *Plutarch* giveth to *Alexander* the Great, that (b) *he conceived he ought to be thought superiour unto all men, yet subject to justice:* and *Pliny* to *Trajan*, (c) *He thinks himself*

1. 3. C. de testam.

(a) *Sesundum hoc D.D. Severus & Antonius sapissime rescripserunt, Licet enim (inquiunt) legibus soluti simus, attamen legibus vivimus.* Institut. Quibus modis Testam. infirmant. § ult. (b) *Ἡ δὲ φύσις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ δῆλον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι δὴ καὶ ὁ ἑαυτοῦ ἑαυτοῦ.* Plut. de fortuna Alexandri orat. 2. (c) *Unum ille se ex nobis; & hoc magis excellit atq; eminet, quod unum ex nobis putat; nec minus hominem se, quam hominibus præesse meminit.* Plin. Paneg. ad Trajan.

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to be one of us; and so much the more excellent and eminent he is, that he so thinketh, and no less remembreth that he is a man, than that he is a ruler of

(d) Nam cui nihil ad augendum fastigium superest, hic uno modo crescere potest, si se ipso submittat, securus magnitudinis suae. Idem ibid.

(e) Eosdem nos, eundem te putas; par omnibus, & hoc tantum ceteris major, quò melior. Idem ibid.

(f) Ipse te legibus subiecisti, legibus, Caesar, quas nemo principi scripsit: Sed tu nihil amplius vis tibi licere quàm nobis. Idem ibid.

(g) Πάντων ὧν ἐξουσίαν ἡμῖν ἡ βασιλεία ἐξουσιάζεται, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ὁ Θεὸς τὰς νόμους καταθέμεν, νόμον αὐτῷ ἐμφύχον κατὰ πέμπτας ἀνδράποισι. Justinian. Novel. 105.

(h) Nova Imperatorum vocari patrem legis; unde & leges sunt ei subiectae. Gloss. in Novel. 12.c.4.

men. (d) For he who hath nothing left to increase his height, hath but this one way to grow by, if he submit himself, being secure of his greatness. And in his direct speech to the Emperour himself, (e) Thou esteemest us the same, and thy self the same; equal unto all, and in this onely greater than the rest, that thou art better than they. And more neerly to our present purpose, (f) Thou hast made thy self subject to the laws, O Caesar, which were not written to restrain the Prince by. But thou

wilt have nothing more lawful to thee than is to us. Such written laws as these, no doubt, Justinian the Emperor meant, when upon the enacting of a Constitution of this kind, he addeth thereunto this limitation, (g) From all those things that have been said by us let the Emperors state be excepted, whereunto G O D hath subjected the very laws themselves, sending him as a living law unto men. Who therefore in another place assumeth unto himself the title of a father of the law: whereupon the Glossator maketh this observation, (h) Note that the Emperor is the father of the law; whereupon the laws also are subject to him. For such positive laws as these, being (as other works of men are) imperfect, and not free from many discommodities, if the strict observation thereof should be perused in every particular; it is fit the

supreme Governour should not himself onely be exempted from subjection thereunto, but also be so far Lord over them, that where he seeth cause he may abate or totally remit the penalty incurred by the breach of them, dispense with others for the not observing of them at all, yea, and generally suspend the execution of them, when by experience he shall find the inconveniences to be greater than the profit that was expected should redound thereby unto the Commonwealth. *Plutarch* setteth this down as a chief point of that natural skil which *Philopæmen* had in government, that he (i) did not onely rule according to the laws, but over-ruled the laws themselves, when he found it conducing to the weal-publick. Such laws as these *St. Augustine* calleth temporal (k); which, although they be just, yet in time may justly also suffer a change. That being most true of them which *Portius Cato* saith in *Livy*, (l) No law is equally commodious unto all, that chiefly is looked to, if it be convenient for the greater part: and *Sextus Calicinus* in *Gellius*, (m) The opportuni-

(i) Οὕτως ἡγεμενικῶν φύσιν ἔχον, ἢ καὶ τὰς νόμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νόμων ἀρχὴν ἠπίσταντο, περὶ τὸ συμφέρον. *Plutarch*. in comparat. *Flaminii* & *Philopæmen*. (k) *Appellemus* istam legem,

si placet, temporalem; quæ quamvis iusta sit, commutari tamen per tempora iuste potest. *Aug. de lib. arbitr. l. 1. c. 6.* (l) Nulla lex satis commoda omnibus est; id modo queritur si majori parti & in summum prodest. *Porcii Cat. orat. pro lege Oppia, apud Liv. initio l. 34.* (m) Non ignoras, legum opportunitates & medelas pro temporum moribus, & pro rerum publicarum generibus, ac pro utilitatibus presentium rationibus, proque vitiorum quibus medendum est feroribus, mutari atque flecti, neque uno statu consistere, quin ut facies cæli & maris, ita rerum atque fortuna tempestatibus variantur. *A. Gellius l. 20. c. 1. cum illo Justiniani Imp. de reformatione juris Romani. Multa & maxima sunt, quæ propter utilitatem rerum transformata sunt. L. 2. Cod. de veteri jure enucleando, & in Proœmio Novel. 107.* ἢ ὅτι περὶ πραγμάτων ποικιλία καὶ ἡ φύσις τῶν αὐτῶν συχρῶς μεταβάλλουσα, δεῖ καὶ τὸν νόμον ἐκείνον ἐπαγορεύσεως ἡμετέρας παρεσκευάσασθαι.

ties and remedies of laws, according to the manners of the times, the divers forms of government, the regard of present conveniences, and the height of publick enormities, are chang'd and fitted. They remain not in one and the same state; but, as the face of the weather and of the seas, are varied with the tempests of accidents and emergent occasions. So Tertullian,

(n) Si lex tua erravit, puto ab homine concepta est; nec enim de cœlo ruit: Miramini hominem aut errare potuisse in lege condenda, aut resipuisse in reprobanda? Tert. apol. c. 4.

(o) Naturalia quidem jura, quæ apud omnes gentes peragunt observantur, divinâ quâdam providentiâ constituta, semper firma atq; immu-

tabilia permanent: ea verò quæ ipsa sibi quæq; civitas constituit sæpe mutari solent, vel tacito consensu populi, vel alia postea lege lata. Institut. l. 1. de jur. natural. § 11. cum l. De quibus causis 31. D. de legibus. (p) Ejus leges, quoniam videbantur impendio acerbiores, non decreto jussuq; sed tacito illiteratoq; Atheniensium consensu, oblitterata sunt. A. Gellius l. 11. c. 18. Legum enim ipsarum jussa consensu tacito oblitterantur. Idem l. 12. c. 13. (q) Τῶν νόμων ἀπειρία καὶ βασιλικῶν ἐγκυαλιῶν φιλανθρωπίαν ὄντι, ὅτι οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ὁ δεύτερος, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ τρίτος τῶν νόμων πολλὰς ζημίας τε καὶ βλάβας ἀφαιρῶνται τῷ τοῦ περὶ νόμον. Justin. junior Imp. in Præfatione Constitut. 3.

severity of them; especially when by that means the subjects may be freed from much detriment and damage: (r) the condition of the Magistrates, whose sentence is held corrupt if it be milder than the laws, being one thing; the power of Princes, whom it becommeth to qualifie the sharpness of them, a far different matter. Wherein we may hear again, if you please, the opinion of John of Sarisbury, (s) I do not, saith he, take away the dispensing with the law out of the hands of the powers; but such precepts or prohibitions as have a perpetual right, are not, as I think, to be subjected unto their will and pleasure. In those things therefore onely which are mutable the dispensation with the letter of the law is to be admitted; yet so as by the compensation of honesty or utility the intention of the law may be entirely preserv'd.

The Law both of God and the King is that wherein the commanded is a part of Gods law; but the sanction * or civil punishment, whereby men are deterred from the breach thereof, is by the Prince added thereunto. According to that which we read in the Edict of King Artaxerxes, (t) Whosoever will not do the law of God and the law of the King, let judgment be executed speedily upon him; whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods,

(r) *Alia est conditio Magistratum quorum corrupta videntur esse sententia si sint legibus mitiores; alia Dominorum Principum potestas, quos decet acrimoniam severi juris inflectere.* Symmachus l. 10. epist. ult.

(s) *Nec tamen dispensationem legis subtraham manibus potestatum; sed perpetuam praeceptionem aut prohibitionem habentia, libito eorum nequaquam arbitror supponenda. In his ita q̄, dumtaxat quae mobilia sunt, dispensatio verborum admittitur; ita tamen ut compensatione honestatis aut utilitatis mens legis integra conservetur.* Jo. Sarisbur. Polycratic. l. 4. c. 7.

* *Legum eas partes quibus poenas constituimus adversus eos qui contra leges fecerint, sanctiones vocamus.* Institut. l. 2. de rerum divis. sect. 11. *Sanctio legum novissime certam poenam irrogat iis qui praeceptis legis non obtemperaverint.* Papini. n. in l. 41. D. de poenis. (t) Ez. 7. 26.

or to imprisonment:

(u) *Quomodo ergo Reges Domino serviunt in timore, nisi ea quæ contra iussa Domini sunt, religiosa severitate prohibendo atque plectendo? Aliter enim servit quia homo est, aliter quia etiam & rex est. Quia homo est, ei servit vivendo fideliter: quia verò etiam rex est, servit, leges iusta præcipientes & contraria prohibentes convenienti vigore sanciendo. August. epist. 50. ad Bonifacium Comitem.*

sonment: and that place in St. Augustine, (u) How do Kings serve God in fear, but when with a religious severity they forbid and punish those things which are done against the commandment of God? For as a man he serveth God one way, as a King another way: As a man he serveth him by his own living well, as a King by setting out and backing with power fitting such laws as command just things, and forbid the contrary. In laws of this nature, to the precept it self, as coming from God, the King is bound to yield obedience as well

as others: but from the penalty annexed thereunto he is exempted. The reason is, because the inflicting of punishment is an act of a superiour to an inferiour: and therefore though a father or master were never so faulty, none would be so absurd as to think, that their servants or children might chastise them. But to make any one upon earth superiour to the supreme governour, would imply a manifest contradiction: so that we must of necessity come to that conclusion of the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, that (x) *of a free Monarch none may be judge but God alone.* Which is the same which before we have heard from Rabbi *Jeremiah*, that *no creature may judge the King but God*: and is confirmed not onely by *Esphantas* the Pythagorean, who maketh it the privilege, (y) *first of God, and then of the King under him, not to be ruled by any*; but also by the general consent of the ancient Christians. For such was the

(x) *οὐδὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπου
χίρας ὁ Θεὸς μὴ
κρίνειν ἀνθρώπου.*
Xiphilin. Ex-
cerpt. ex Dionis
M. Aurelio.

(y) *ἐν τῷ μὴ τῷ
Θεῷ, ἐν τῷ ὅτι τῷ
Βασιλεῖ, αὐτῷ μὴ
ἀρχεῖν, ἀρχεῖν δὲ
τοῦ ὁ Θεός.* Ec-
phant. apud Sto-
bæum serm. 46.

profession of Terullian, (z) We worship the Empe-
rour as a man next unto God, and who hath obtain'd
of God whatsoever he is, and is less than God onely.

(a) In whose power alone he is, from whom he is the
second, and after whom the first. And of Optatus,

(b) There is none above the Emperor but God alone,
who made the Emperor: he being (c) the top and
head of all men upon earth, as Chrysostom: and (d)

having none higher than himself upon earth, as A-
gapetus speaketh. (e) If any of the people commit a
fault, saith Cassiodorus, he sinneth to God and the
King; but when the King offendeth he standeth guilt-

ty unto God alone, because he hath no man who is to
be judge of his doings. (f) Every one who liveth
under authority, saith Arnobius, when he offends sin-
neth against God, and the laws of this world also; but

the King, as living under God alone, and having no
power above his own to fear but Gods onely, when he
sinneth, offendeth God alone and none other. Upon
which grounds Constantinus Harmenopulus, the
Greek abridger of the Civil Law, declareth (g)

the King not to be subject to the Laws, because of-
fending against them he is not punished. The same
reason is also rendred by Saint Ambrose, why

adversus Parmenian. l. 3. (c) βασιλεὺς γὰρ κορυφὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων Jo. Chrysost. homil. 2. ad pop. Antioch. (d) Οὐκ ἔχει γὰρ
ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἄλλον ὑποτάσσον. Agapet. Paræn. c. 21. (e) De populo si quis er-
raverit, & Deo peccat & Regi: Nam quando Rex delinquit, soli Deo reus
est, quia hominem non habet qui ejus facta dijudicat. Cassiodor. in Psal. 50.
(f) Omnis qui sub judicio vivit, cum deliquerit peccat Deo, peccat & legi-
bus mundi: Hic autem Rex sub nullo alio nisi sub Deo solo agens, ipsum solum
super potestatem suam metuens, Deo soli peccavit. Arnobius junior in eundem
Psalm. (g) ὁ βασιλεὺς νόμοις ὕχεται, ἢσαν ἀμαρτίας ἐκλάττει. Harme-
nopul. epitom. juris l. 1. tit. 1. sect. 48.

(z) Colimus Im-
peratorem ut hr-
minem à Deo se-
cundum; & quic-
quid est, à Deo
consequi, &
soli Deo mino-
rem. Tertul. ad
Scapul c. 2.

(a) In cuius soli-
us potestate san-
à quo sunt secu-
di, post quem pri-
mi. Idem in apo-
log. c. 30.

(b) Super Impe-
ratorem non est
nisi solus Deus
qui fecit Impera-
torem. Optat.

(h) *Peccavit David, quod solet reges, sed penitentiam gessit, &c. indulgentiam petebat, qui nullis tenebatur legibus*

HUMANIS.

Ambros. apolog. David c.4. *Rex utiq; erat, nullis ipse legibus tenebatur; quia liberi sunt reges a vinculis delictorum: Neq; enim nullis ad pœnam vocantur legibus, tui Imperii potestate.* Idem c.10. (i) *Actores absentium, quibus res longinqua remittitur, tanquam solui legibus vivunt, quoniam procul positis nullus dominorum terror incurrit.* Symmach. l.9. epist. 6. *Illud Ulpiani [in leg. Princeps D. de leg.] Princeps legibus solutus est; intelligunt de pœnariis legibus, ad quas princeps non tenetur; ut in lege Julia & Papia de pœna Caduci, de qua ibi agit Ulpianus.* Cujac. l. 15. observ. 30. Connan. l. 1. Comment. jur. c. 16. Vasquez l. 1. Controv. illustr. c. 2. n. 1. Christianæ decis. 9. n. 13.

(k) *Facta sunt leges, ut earum metu humana coerceretur audacia, tutaq; sit inter improbos innocentia; & in ipsis improbis, formidato supplicio, refranetur nocendi facultas.* Isidor. Origin. l.5. c.20.

(l) *Rex erat, alium non timebat.* Hieron. epist. 22. ad Eustochium, & 46. ad Rusticum. (m) *Populi peccantes judicem metunt, & à malo suo legibus coercentur: Reges autem, nisi solo Dei timore metûque gehennæ coarceantur, libere in præceptis prouunt.* Isidor. Sentent. l.3. c.50.

(h) *Kings are tyed by no laws, because they are not call'd to punishment by them, being warranted by the power of their Empire. As Symmachus saith of (i) Factors employed in remote countries, that they live as it were loosed from the laws, because that being so far off they stand not in any fear of their Masters.*

For to this end, saith *Isidorus Hispalensis*, (k) *were laws made, that by fear of them the boldness of men might be restrained, and that innocency might be safe among the wicked; and that in the wicked themselves the power of doing hurt might be bridled by the fear of punishment.* Which end having no place in the King, (who, as *St. Hierom* also noteth, (l) *stands not in fear of any other*) this difference herein he observes between him and his people, that (m) *they in occasion of offence have the judge to fear, and the laws to curb them; the King hath nothing but the fear of God and the terror of hell*

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to restrain him from running headlong into all vice. So that Kings wanting this help, which others have, of containing them within their duties, what they in this point do doth not proceed from the fear of any civil punishment, but from the fear of God.

Hereupon *Agapetus* giveth this grave advice to the Emperor *Justinian*, (n) *Impose upon thy self a necessity of observing the laws, because there is none on earth that can constrain thee: Not onely what respect thou bearest to them will appear, if thou first thy self reverence them; but thy subjects will then plainly see how dangerous it will be to break them.* So also *Isidore*, (o) *It is just that the Prince should obey his own laws; for let him then make account that his laws shall be observ'd by all, when as he himself shall shew reverence unto them.* And *St. Ambrose* to the Emperor *Valentinian*, (p) *What thou hast prescribed unto others thou hast prescribed also unto thy self; for the Emperor maketh laws which he himself should first keep.* To which purpose likewise *Xenophon* putteth this (q) among the greatest benefits which *Agefilans* King of the Spartans brought unto his country, that being the most powerful in the State, to the Laws he was most obsequious: for who, saith he, would be disobedient to them, when he saw the King himself submit to them? But what speak I of *Agefilans*, a petty Prince, not worthy of a

(n) Σαυτῷ τῷ βασιλεὶ τὰς νόμους ἐπιθῆναι ἀνάγκη, ὥς μὴ ἔχων ἐπὶ γῆς τι δυνάμει ἀναγκάζον· ἔτι γὰρ καὶ τῶν νόμων ἐπιδείξει τὸ σέβας, αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλων τέτοις αἰδέμενος, καὶ τοῖς ὑποκόοις παρήσειαι τὸ παρανομῆν ἐκ ἀκύνδων. *Agapet. Paræn. c. 27.*

(o) *Justum est Principem legibus obtemperare suis: Tunc enim jura sua ab omnibus custodienda existimet, quando & ipse illis reverentiam præbet.* *Ibid. Sentent. l. 3. c. 51.*

(p) *Quod cum præscripsisti aliis, præscripsisti & tibi: leges enim Imperator fert, quas primus ipse custodiat.* *Ambros. l. 2. epist. 3.* (q) ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ὠφελήμασι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τόδε ἐγὼ τίθημι αὐτῷ, ὅτι δυνάτωτατος ὢν ἐν τῇ πόλει, φανερὸς ἦν μάλιστα τοῖς νόμοις λατρεύων. Τίς γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἠθέλησεν ἀπειθεῖν, ὅρῳ δὲ βασιλέα περὶ νόμων; *Xenoph. orat. de Agefilao.*

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Kings

Kings title, in comparison of that potent and absolute Monarch *Cyrus*? whom the same *Xenophon*, as a most perfect pattern in this kind thus pro-

(r) Τὸς ὃ παρέχοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνόμι-
σε μάλισ' ἂν ὅτι τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ
παρερμαίνεσθαι ἵκετο· περὶ ἧν ἀρχὸν
αὐτοῦ· εἰ αὐτοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδεικνύειν
πειρῶτο τοῖς ἀρχομένοις πάντων
μάλιστα κεκοσμημένον τῇ ἀρετῇ· αἰ-
δοῦναι μὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ διὰ τὸς
γενομένους νόμους βασιλεὺς ἡγεμόνους
ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὃ ἀγαθὸν ἀρχοῦν
βλέποντα νόμον ἀνθρώποις ἐνόμι-
ζειν, ὅτι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἱκανῶς ὅτι καὶ ὁρᾶν
καὶ ἀτακτῆντα καὶ κολάζειν. *Xenoph.*
de institut. Cyri l. 8.

(s) Καὶ σωφροσύνῃ ὃ αὐτὸς ἐπι-
δεικνύς, μᾶλλον ἐποίει καὶ ταύτῃ
πάντας ἀσκήν· ὅταν γὰρ ὁρῶσιν ὃ
μάλιστα ἐξέσιν ὑβελίζειν, ὅτον σω-
φροσύνῃ, ἔτω μᾶλλον οἷσε ἀδινέ-
σσει ἐθέλουσιν ἔσθ' ὃν ὑβείσκον ποι-
οῦντες φανεροὶ εἶναι. *Ibid.*

(t) *Ut enim cupi-*
ditatibus principū
& vitiis infici so-
let tota civitas, sic
emendari & corri-
gi continentia.

Cic. l. 3. de legib.

(u) *Senec.* in Thy-
este act. 2.

pounds unto us, (r) *Those which were in his view he thought by this means he might best excite unto good and laudable actions, if he himself, being their Prince, did endeavour to declare himself unto his subjects to be more adorn'd with vertue than all of them. For this observation he made, That by the written laws indeed men were made better; but he esteem'd a good Prince to be a seeing law unto men, as being able both to order matters, and both to behold and punish such as behaved themselves disorderly. Shewing moreover moderation in himself, he made all others to exercise that vertue the more. For when he who may be most insolent appears regular, the meaner sort will have more care not to be disorder'd.*

And generally that is most true which is observed by *Tully*, that (t) *As by the unbridled affections of the Magistrate the city usually is infected, so is it amended and rectified by his moderation: according to that of Seneca,*

(u) *Rex velit honesta, nemo non eadem volet.*

If the Prince just things respect,
Subjects will the same affect.

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and Ovid,

(x) *Sic agitur censura, & sic exempla parantur ;
Si iudex alios quod monet ipse facit.*

(x) Ovid. Fast.
l. 6.

Rulers prove Censors, and for patterns stand,
When first themselves observe what they com-
(mand.

For (y) the life of the Prince is a
censure, and that a perpetual one. To
it we direct, to it we turn our selves ;
having not so much need of command
as of example. For fear is no such
trusty teacher of right ; men are better
instructed by examples, which have this
good in them especially, that they give
proof that the things commanded may be
done. So saith Pliny in his Panegy-
rique to Trajan, where he noteth
that (z) we are flexible every way to
follow whither the Prince shall lead us.

(y) *Nam vita Principis censura
est, eaq; perpetua: Ad hanc di-
rigimur, ad hanc convertimur:
nec tam imperio nobis opus est
quàm exemplo. Quippe infidelis
recti magister est metus; melius
homines exemplis docentur, qua
inprimis hoc in se boni habent,
quòd approbant quæ precipiunt
fieri posse. Plin. Panegyr.*

(z) *Flexibiles in quamcunq; par-
tem ducimur à principe; atq;
ut ita dicam, sequaces sumus.*
Idem ibid.

And so after him Claudian in his Panegyrique up-
on the fourth Consulship of Honorius,

————— *Tunc observantior equi
Fit populus, nec ferre negat; cum viderit ipsum
Auctorem parere sibi. Componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum: nec sic inflectere sensus
Humanos edicta valent quàm vita regentis.*

Laws are best kept by Subjects, when they find
The giver keeps them first. All themselves bind
To his example: nor can Edicts sway
Mens minds so much as Rulers that obey.

K

As

As Tacitus also noteth in the example of *Vespasian*, that (a) the desire of pleasing and

(a) *Obsequium in principem, & amnlandi amor, validior quam pœna ex legibus, & metus.* Tacit. Annal. l. 3.

(b) ὥς ἐν ἀπαξ καταμάθωσι σε ἄλλα μὲν αὐτοῖς περαιοῦντα, ἄλλα δὲ αὐτὸν ποιεῖντα, ἔτι τὰς ἀπειλὰς σε φοβηθήσονται, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα μιμήσονται. Dio hist. Rom. l. 52.

imitating the Prince wrought more than either punishment of Laws, or fear: and on the other side, *Mecenas* in *Dio* telleth *Caesar*, that (b) if the people should once discover that he prescribed one thing to them, and did himself another, they would not fear his threats, but imitate his actions.

Kings therefore are said to be above the laws whereby they govern their people, partly in respect of themselves, partly in respect of others:

(c) *Princeps est supra legem; adeo quod secundum conscientiam suam judicare potest.* Cynus in l. Rescript. Cod. de precib. Imper. offerend.

(d) *Est etiam princeps supra legem; in quantum si expediens fuerit, potest legem mutare, & in ea dispensare pro loco & tempore.* Thom. in 1. 2. quæst. 96. artic.

5. ad 3. (e) *Magna & justa causa est ejus voluntas.* Accurs. gloss. in l. 4. D. de pœnis. (f) Εἰδομὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ θύρων εἰς τὸ ζῶν ἐπανόστας,

ὥς ὁ μὲν νόμος ἐκῆσθε ἀπῆγεν, ὁ δὲ τὸ νόμος κύνειθ ἐκῆθεν ἐπανάγαγε, γινώσκων ὅτι ἄλλα μὲν δικασθε, ἄλλα δὲ βασιλέως ἀρετή· καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ ἡμῶν ἐπεῖθε, τὰ δὲ ἐπαγορεύει καὶ τὰς νόμους, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀμείλικτον παραδεικνύειν, ἅτε νόμος ἐμφύχων ὄντι, καὶ ἐκ ἐν γράμμασιν ἀμεταθέτοις καὶ ἀσάλευτοις· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε, βασιλείαν ἐκ τῶν ἐρανῶν κατέπεμψε εἰς τὴν γῆν ὁ Θεός, ὅπως αὖ ἐν καταφυγῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ἀκινήτου ὅπῃ ἔμπνην καὶ ζῶντα. Themist. orat. 5. de humanitate Theod.

of death; whom the law indeed sent thither, but the Lord of the law brought back from thence again; as knowing that one thing becometh a judge, another a King; that the one is tied to follow the laws, but the other hath power to correct the laws themselves, and to qualifie the severity and harshness of them, as being himself a living law, and not confin'd to unchangeable and unalterable letters. For to this end, it seemeth, God did send from heaven this Regal power into the earth, that men might have a refuge from that dead and unmoveable law to this living one.

Wherewith we may compare that briefer expression of Hilary the Roman Deacon, or whoever else was the Author of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament, wrongly fathered

upon St. Augustin, (g) To judges it is prescribed not to revoke the sentence passed upon a guilty person: but the Emperour himself is under no such law. For he alone hath power to revoke that sentence, and to absolve the man condemn'd to dye, and to grant a pardon to him. That saying indeed of the Emperour Valentinian the Third is much commended, (h) It is a voice worthy of the Majesty of him that reigneth, that the Prince should profess himself to be bound by the laws.

But (i) although it be a fair thing to say so, yet is it not to be maintain'd that the Emperour is subject to the laws, when he is loosed from them, saith Æneas Silvius. For there is a certain other thing, to which the Emperour is more obnoxious than to the law; and that

(g) *Judicibus statutum est ne liceat in ream datam sententiam revocare. Nunquid & ipse Imperator sub hac erit lege? Nam ipsi soli licet revocare sententiam, & reum mortis absolvere, & ipsi ignoscere. Quæst. 115. ex vet. & nov. Testam. tom. 4. oper. Augustini.*

(h) *Digna vox est majestate regnantis, legibus alligatum se Principem profiteri. l. 4. Cod. de legib. & constitut. princ.*

(i) *Quod quamvis pulchrum est dicere, non tamen asserendum est Imperatorem legibus esse subjectum, cum*

fit solutus. Est enim aliud quiddam cui plus quam legibus obnoxius est Imperator; hoc ipsum æquitas est, quæ non semper invenitur scripta. Æquitas enim est, quod præter legem scriptam justum est: Quod si aliud lex jubet, aliud æquitas suadet, convenit Imperatorem juris vigorem æquitatis frango temperare, cui soli inter æquitatem justæq; interpretatam interpretationem licet & incumbit inspicere. Præsertim cum

nulla juris sanctio, quantumcunq; digesto perpensa consilio, ad varietates humana natura & machinationes ejus inopinabiles sufficiat. Cumq; humani juris conditio semper in infinitum decurrat, nihilq; sit in ea quod stare perpetuò possit (multas enim formas eadem natura novas deproperat, & secundum tempora statuta variantur humana) manifestum est a vi cursu, quæ leges olim justas fuerunt, injustas reddi, fieriq; nunc i: utiles, nunc duras, nunc iniquas. Ad quas moderandas opus est Principe, qui legum Dominus est. Nam si quid in eis latum fortassis obscurius fuerit, Imperatorem convenit declarare, avaritiæq; legum sue humanitati contrariam & incongruam emendare. Quodenim dicitur, legem quamvis duram esse servandam, inferiores judices non Cæsarem respicit; in quo est vis illa moderandarum legum, quam *Æquitas* vocant, quæ tam annexa est summo Principi, ut nullis possit humanis evelli decretis. Aneas Silvius de ortu & authoribus Imperii, cap. 20,

mend that harshness of the laws which he shall find to be contrary and disagreeable to his humanity. For where it is said, that a law, although it be hard, should yet be observed; that respecteth the inferior judges, and not the Emperor; in whom is that power of moderating the laws which they call *Ἐπιείκεια*, or Equity, which is so annexed to the supremacy of the Prince, that by no decrees of man it can be pulled from it. Thus far *Aeneas Silvius*.

In regard of themselves Kings are said to be exempted from subjection to the Laws, both because they are not tied (otherwise than for conveniency and good examples sake) to the observance of such as are meer positive and temporary laws; and because they are not lyable to the civil punishments set down for the breach of any law, as having no superior upon earth that may exercise any such power over them: Whereunto, for the later times, that of *Otto Frisingensis* may be referred, (k) *Whereas there is no man found in the world which is not subject to the laws of the world, and by that subjection kept within compass; Kings alone, as being set above the laws, and reserved to Gods examination, are not restrain'd by any secular laws.*

And for the elder, that speech of *Gregory Bishop of Tours* unto the French King *Chilperick*, (l) *If any of us, O King, transgress justice, you may correct us; but if you do exceed your bounds, who shall restrain*

(k) *Cum nulla inveniatur persona mundi-
alis qua mun-
di legibus non sub-
jaceat, subiacendo
coerceatur; soli
reges, utpote con-
stituti supra leges,
divino examini re-
servati, seculi le-
gibus non cohiben-*

tur. *Otto Frising. præfat. chronic. ad Imp. Frideric. i.* (l) *Si quis de nobis, O Rex, justitiæ tramitem transcendere voluerit, à te corrigi potest; si vero in excesseris, quis te corripiet? Loquimur enim tibi, sed si volueris, audis; si autem nolueris, quis te condemnabit nisi is qui se pronuntiavit esse justitiā?* *Gregor. Turonens. hist. Francor. l. 5. c. 18.*

you?

you? We indeed speak unto you, and if you will you listen unto us; but if you do not, who can condemn you but he who hath declared himself to be Righteousness? (that is, God himself alone.) Together with that common interpretation which hath been given unto those words of David in the 51. Psalm, *Against thee, thee only have I sinned*: whereof Euthymius giveth this paraphrase, (m) Forasmuch as I am a King, and so have thee the only judge of the crimes committed by me, against thee only I appear to have sinn'd, that is, I am subject to no other judge but unto thee alone, for of all the rest I am myself the Lord. Nicephorus this, (n) In respect that I am a King, and subject to thee alone, against thee only have I sinned. Injury, I confess, otherwise I did unto Urias; but the sin of it self reached unto thee, because I did transgress thy laws. So likewise Didymus, (o) Inasmuch as he was a King he was not subject to any humane law, and so sinned against none of those Law-makers. And Ambrose, (p) Being upheld with the Regaleminency, as a Lord of the laws, in respect of the laws he was not guilty; to God alone he stood obnoxious, who is the Lord of principalities. And

(m) Cum rex sim, & te solum commissorum à me scelerum judicem habeam, tibi soli peccasse videor, hoc est, tibi soli judici subjiçior: Ceterorum enim omnium ego dominus sum. Euthym. in Psalm.

(n) Rex cum ego sim, tibi q̃, soli subiectus, tibi soli peccavi. Alioquin Uriam injuriã affeci; sed pecca-

tum ipsum ad te transit, quoniam leges tuas transgressus sum. Nicephor. in catena Græc. Doctorum in Psalmos Latinè à Dan. Barbaro edit. (o) Quatenus rex erat non subiciebatur humana legi; unde nulli ex legum conditoribus peccavit. Didym. ibid. Ὅσον ὅτι τὸ εἶναι βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῷ ἐκείνῳ ἀνθεπαίνον νόμῳ ὅθεν ἔδεν ἡ νομοθεσίς ἡμᾶς, ἔδ' ἐνώπιόν τιν' αὐτῆς τὸ ποιεῖν ἐπιόντων. Ἐπειδὴ ὅτι πρὸς τῷ βασιλεὺς καὶ θεοσεβείας εἶναι βέλαι, τῷ ἐκείνῳ τῷ τῷ Θεῷ νόμῳ ἀπὸ καὶ ἡμᾶς μόνῳ Θεῷ, καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐποίησε. Dyidm. ibid. & in catena Græca MS. in Bibliotheca Bodl. & Novi Collegii Oxon. (p) Regali subnixus fastigio, quasilegum dominus legibus reus non erat: soli Deo obnoxius tenebatur, qui dominus est potestatum. Ambros. l. 2. epist. 7. ad Simplicianum.

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Lyranus, (q) *Because he was a King he had no superior judge which might punish him but God.* As *Isidorus Pelusiota* likewise writeth of another who was an Heathen, that (r) *being a King he was not to expect any judicial sentence from men; forasmuch as such were subject to Gods judgment only.* And *Cyriel of Alexandria* in the general, (s) *Who dare violate the decrees of terrene Kings, or attempt to dissolve the laws enacted by Princes, unless he himself be one of those who are invested with Regal dignity? for in such the charge of transgressing the law hath no place at all.* And by this we may easily understand what *Aristotle's* meaning was when he said, that (t) *a King tied to the laws doth make no new kind of government.* For if the people may call him to account for the breach of the Law, the State is plainly *Democratical*; if the Peers, it is *Aristocratical*; if either, or both of them, it cannot any way be accounted *Monarchical*. To all which we may adde likewise that declaration of *Thomas Aquinas*, (u) *The Prince is said to be loosed from the law, forasmuch as concerneth the coercitive force of the law. For no man is properly constrain'd by himself; and the law hath no force coercitive but*

(q) *Quia erat rex non habebat judicem superiores qui posset eum punire nisi Deum.* Nicol. de Lyra in Psal. 50.

(r) Βασιλεὺς ὢν, καὶ εὐθὺς παρ' ἀνδρῶν μὴ μέλλων ἀπαλειψθῆ τῇ γὰρ θεῷ δίκη μόνον ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐσθύνεται. Isidor. Pelus. l. 5. epist. 383. ad Petrum Correctorem.

(s) Τίς τοῖς θεοπίσμασι τῆς ἐκείνης βασιλείας ἐκστιασικῶς ἐπιτίθειται, καὶ παραλύειν ἐπιχειρεῖ τὰ διὰ τῆς τῆς νεαλωτῶν συνέταγμα φέρει τε καὶ γνώμης, οἱ μὴ ἀεὶ

τίς ἐν τυχὼν τῆς βασιλείας περικειμένων τιμῶν τε καὶ δόξας; τόπον γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνοις ἔχει τῆς παρανομίας τὰ ἐγκλήματα. Cylri. Comment. in Johan. l. 12. (t) ὁ καὶ νόμον λεγόμενος βασιλεὺς ἐκείνους ἀπολύει. Aristot. Politic. l. 3. c. 12. (u) *Princeps dicitur esse solutus à legibus, quantum ad vim coercitivam legis. Nullus enim proprie cogitur à seipso; lex autem non habet vim coercitivam nisi ex Principis potestate. Sic igitur Princeps dicitur esse solutus à lege, quia nullus in ipsum potest judicium condemnationis ferre, si contra legem agat, &c. Unde quantum ad Dei judicium, Princeps non est solutus à lege quantum ad vim directivam ejus, sed debet voluntarius, non coactus, legem implere.* Thom. 1. 2. quæst. 96. artic. 5. ad 3.

from

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from the power of the Prince. Thus therefore the Prince is said to be loosed from the law, because no man can give sentence of condemnation against him, if he do any thing against the Law. But in respect of Gods judgment the Prince is not loosed from the law, forasmuch as concerneth the directive power thereof; but he ought voluntarily, and not constrainedly, to fulfill the law. And of Joannes Sarisburiensis,

(x) *Princeps legis nexibus dicitur absolutus, non quia ei iniqua liceant, sed quia is esse debet qui non timore pœnae, sed amore justitiæ, equitatem colat, reipublicæ procurat utilitatem, & in omnibus aliorum* (x) The Prince is said to be absolved from the obligation of the law, not because unjust things may be lawful to him, but because he ought to be one, who, not for the fear of punishment, but for the love of justice, should regard equity, procure the profit of the Commonwealth, and in all things prefer the benefit of others before his own will and pleasure. And so (as the Apostle speaketh in another case) (y) having not the law he is a law to himself: (z) being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ.

commoda privata præferat voluntati. Jo. Sarisbur. Polycratic. l. 4. c. 2. Sic & Soto de Just. & jur. l. 1. qu. 6. art. 7. conclus. 4. Covarruvias ad c. alma mater p. 1. sect. 1. n. 3. Navarr. ad c. Si quando. de rescript. except. 8. n. 12. Menoch. de arbitr. Jud. qu. 7. n. 10, 20. Budæus in annot. ad l. Princeps. D. de leg. (y) Rom. 2. 14. (z) 1 Cor. 9. 21.

The King therefore is not hereby made lawless, nor hath liberty given unto him to do whatever him listeth. For Gods Word

(a) *Νομοθέσει γὰρ καὶ νομοθέταις ὁ λόγος.* Greg. Naz. orat. 27.

(b) *Δεῖ μὲν καὶ θυμὸν μέσθαι ἐνυπάρχον τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀλλὰ μέγα ὄντα καὶ θυμὸν εὐκόσμον εἶναι προσήκον, ὥστε ἐνυπάρχοντος εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ.* Themist. orat. 9.

and right reason must (a) give a law to the Law-givers themselves, as Gregory Nazianzen speaketh to the Emperours of his time. (b) Greatness of spirit indeed (saith Themistius to the Emperor Theodosius) is requisite in a

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King; but it is fit also that this great spirit of his should be obsequious and easily persuaded to yield to reason. (c) None being able (as Aga-

petus addeth in his admonitions to Justinian) to correct him who is in so high authority, but that very reason of his, which is moved by the conscience of himself offending. And (d) although the King hath the laws so in his power, saith St. Ambrose, that without fear of punishment he may offend, yet is he subject to God, who oweth nothing unto any; and to whom more by him is owen, unto whom more by him hath been committed.

(c) ἵδεις γὰρ ἰχθυεῖν τὸ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τηλικαύτῃ παιδεύειν, ἢ μὴ λογιζομένος δικεῖν; ἔξ αὐτοῦ τὸ πλεμμελοῦντ' ἐκινεῖται. Agapet. Patræn. c. 36.

(d) Rex etsi leges in potestate habet, ut impune delinquat, Deo tamen subditus est, qui nulli debet; imò plus ipse debet, cui plus commissum est. Ambr. in Psal. 118. serm. 16.

(e) Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis.

Over Subjects Kings command,
Kings are under Jove's high hand.

(e) Horat. carm. 1. 3. Od. 1. Vide & Sueton. in C. Jul. Cæsare c. 16. ex Cæsare ipso, in Juliae amitæ laudatione funebri.

And therefore (f) Whatsoever they shall unjustly, and wickedly, and in a tyrannical manner practise against the law, to the overthrow of right, therein (saith Irenæus) they shall perish by the just judgment which cometh equally upon all, and in none (or nothing) is deficient. Whereupon that famous Eremitic Anthony, writing unto Constantine the Great, and his sons Constantius and Constans, gravely advised them, (g) not to esteem their present estate to be great, but rather to remember the judgment which was

(f) Quæcunq; ad eversionem justæ, iniquè & impie contra legem, & more tyrannico exerceverint, in his & peribunt, iusto judicio Dei ad omnes æqualiter perveniente & in nullo deficiente. Iren. adv. hæres. 1. 5. c. 24.

(g) Μὴ μεγάλα ἡγήσῃς τὰ παρόντα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μνημονεύειν τῆς μελλούσης κείσεως. Athanas. in vita Antonii.

(h) ἡπείλωσι τὴν ἡ-
μῶν τῆς κείσεως.

Idem in epist. ad
solitariam vitam
agentes

(i) Cavendum
summopere Prin-
cipibus, ut quia
minime nunc judi-
cantur, ne in futu-
ro judicio ab om-
nipotenti Deo gra-
vius judicentur:

secundum Apostolum, Etenim horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viven-
tis. Nos vero qui debiores sumus ut fideliter annunciemus, idcirco humiliter
sugerimus, quod silere non audemus. Synod. Regiaticin. anno 850. habir.
c. 16. Wherewith that of Otto Frisingensis also may be compared, in his
Preface before his History unto the Emperour Friderick Barbarossa, Came-
nim, juxta Apostolum, omni mortali horrendum sit incidere in manus Dei vi-
ventis, regibus tamen, qui nullum prater ipsum supra se habent quem metu-
ant, eo erit horribilius, quo ipsi ceteris possunt peccare liberius. (k) Heb. 10. 31.

to come: which also the Catholick Bishops after-
ward were not unmindful to put *Constantius* in

(h) remembrance of, when he laboured so ear-
nestly to propagate the *Arrian* Heresie. And the
Prelates assembled in an *Italian* Synod, five hun-
dred years after that, do (i) humbly suggest the
same unto *Princes*, which (in respect of their cal-
ling) they profess they dare not to be silent in; that
they should take special heed because they are not now
judged, that in the judgment to come they be not
more severely judged by Almighty God: According to
that of the Apostle, (k) It is a fearful thing to fall
into the hands of the living God.

(l) Col. 3. 25.

(m) Col. 4. 1.

The same Apostle in his Epistle to the *Colossi-
ans*, speaking of the mutual duties of Servants
and Masters, setteth this down as a general axi-
om, (l) He that doth wrong shall receive for the
wrong which he hath done; and there is no respect of
persons: and then presently subjoyneth, (m) Ma-
sters, give unto your servants that which is just and
equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven.
And in his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, treating of
the same Argument, when he had laid the like
general ground for the recompence of well-do-
ing, as he did in the other for doing of wrong,

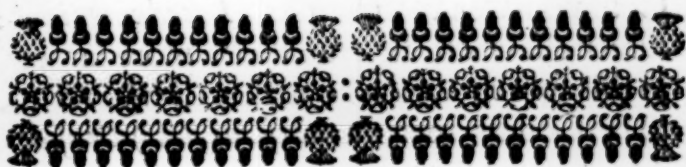
(n) What-

(n) *Whatsoever good thing any man doth, the same* (n) Ephes. 6.8,9. *shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free: He addeth in like manner, Ye Masters do the same thing unto your servants, forbearing threatenings; knowing that your master also is in heaven, neither is there respect of persons with him. The reason is universal, you see; and so is appliable as well to the Prince in the Common-wealth, as to the Master in the private family. Whereupon the Scripture elsewhere telleth us in expresse terms, that God* (o) *accepteth not the persons of* (o) Job 34. 19. *Princes; that* (p) *he leadeth Princes away spoiled,* (p) Job 12. 19. *and overthroweth the mighty; that* (q) *he changeth* (q) Dan. 2. 21. *the times and the seasons, he removeth Kings, and setteth up Kings; that* (r) *he cutteth off the spirit of* (r) Psal. 76. 12. *Princes, and is terrible to the Kings of the earth.*

Upon the consideration of which judgments of God, (oftentimes inflicted by him even in this world, but most infallibly in the world to come) King David groundeth this admonition of his unto those great ones, (s) *Be wise now therefore, O ye* (s) Psal. 2. 10, 11. *Kings; be instructed ye judges of the earth, serve the Lord with fear. Whereof if you will have a more large paraphrase, you may take this out of the sixth Chapter of the Book of Wisdom; Hear therefore, O ye Kings, and understand; learn ye that be judges of the ends of the earth. Give ear you that rule the people, and glory in the multitude of Nations. For power is given you of the Lord, and sovereignty from the Highest; who shall try your works, and search out your counsels? Because being Ministers of his Kingdom, you have not judged aright, nor kept the Law, nor walked after the counsel of God. Horribly*

The Power of the Prince.

bly and speedily shall he come upon you: for a sharp judgment shall be to them that be in high places. For mercy will soon pardon the meanest; but mighty men shall be mightily tormented. For he which is Lord over all shall fear no mans person, neither shall he stand in awe of any mans greatness; for he hath made the small and great, and careth for all alike. But leaving God to his own work, (which he in his infinite wisdom knoweth best how to order) let us look to what concerns our selves, and consider that Subjection which God hath charged us to yield unto our Governours.



PART. II.

The O B E D I E N C E of the SUBJECT.



B E D I E N C E to Authority (a) Παιδαρχία γάρ ὅτι ἡ
is by *Aeschylus* rightly termed ἡ προξίας μήτηρ, *Aeschyl.* in
(a) *The mother of felicity*; by Ἐπίσ' ὅπ' Θήβας, vers. 203.
(b) Ἀρχαὶς, τὴν καλλίστην καὶ
Philo the *Few* (b) *The best and* βιωφελέστατον. *Philo.* in *lib. de*
most profitable thing in our whole Joseph.

life. And therefore (c) *Theopompus* King of (c) Θεόπομπος ὁ βασιλεὺς
the *Lacedemonians*, hearing one attribute the ἡσ' Λακεδαιμονίων, πρὸς τὴν
safety of *Sparta* to the skill which their εἰπόντα σέβεται ἥτις Σπάρ-
Kings had in Government; made answer, τῇ, διὰ τὰς βασιλείας ἀρχ-
αὺς ὄντας. *Plutarch.* in *Præcep-*
tis gerendæ Reip.

that this was to be ascribed rather to the (d) Ἐν ἡ τῇ Σπάρτῃ οἱ
Obdience which the people so cheerfully κροῖσται καὶ ὑποέχονται, μάλιστα
rendred unto their Governours. For in τὰς ἀρχάς, καὶ τῷ ταπεινῷ
(d) *Sparta*, above all other places, the most ἢ μεγαλύνῳ, καὶ τῷ, ὅταν
powerful Citizens shewed themselves most χαλῶν, τρέχοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ
obsequious unto the Magistrates, and by their βαδίζοντες, ὑπακούον νομί-
example drew the rest to do the like: as ζοντες, ἢν αὐτοὶ κατὰ χάριν
(e) *knowing Obedience to be the greatest good,* τὰ σέβεται πείθεσθαι, ἢ εἰδέναι
both in Cities, in Armies, and in private Fa- καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. ὅπερ καὶ γέγον-
milies. *Xenoph.* de *Lacedæm. Repub.*
(e) ἐπὶ τῇ ἐγνώσει τὸ πεί-
θεσθαι μάλιστα αγαθὸν ἢ καὶ
καὶ ἐν πόλει, καὶ στρατῷ, καὶ ἐν
οἴκῳ. *Id. ibid.*

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milies. So writeth *Xenophon*, in his book of the Common-wealth of the *Lacedamonians*: which elsewhere he amplifieth more largely, in this speech which he makes *Chrysantas* use

(f) Ἐννοήσατε γὰρ δὴ τίς ἂν πόλις πολεμῖα ὑπὸ μὴ πειθόμενων εἰλήσῃ; τίς δ' ἂν φίλῃ ὑπὸ μὴ πειθεμένων διαφυλάχθῃ; τίς δ' ἂν ἀπειθῶντων ἐσθλὰ νίκης τύχοι; πῶς δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἐν μάχαις ἢ πᾶν ἀνθρώποις, ἢ ἐπειδὴν ἄνθρωποι ἰδιώκας εἰσὶ τῆς αὐτῆς σωτηρίας βεβλῆσθαι; τί δ' ἂν ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν τελευτήσῃ ὑπὸ μὴ πειθόμενων πῶς κρείττους; τίς ἂν πόλις νομίμως ἂν ὑπάκουσιν; ἢ πῶς οἱ δικαιοσυνήντες; πῶς δ' ἂν ἦεν ὅποι δὲ ἀνέκωντο; Ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν ἔχοντες διὰ τί ἄλλο μᾶλλον κατεπεσέμεθα, ἢ διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι τῷ ἄρχοντι; διὰ τὸ γὰρ καὶ νυκτὶς καὶ ἡμέρας ταχὺ μὲν ὅποι εἴς τε παρεμβόμεθα, ἀλλ' οἱ δὲ πᾶς ἄρχοντες ἐπὶ πόλεσιν ἀνυπόστατοι ἡμῶν, οὗ δ' ὅπου ταχέως ἔδεν ἡμετέρας κατελείπωμεν. Ἐἰ πῶς μὲν ἂν ἀγαθὸν τὸ πειθαρχεῖν φαίνοιτο εἰς τὸ κατεπεσθῆναι τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ὅπως δ' ἔτι ὅτι αὐτὸ τὸ καὶ εἰς τὸ διασωθῆναι ἂν εἴ μὲν ἂν ἀγαθὸν ὅτι. *Xen.* lib. 8. κατὰ παιδείας.

to his Countrymen the *Persians*, (f) Consider, I pray, what Town of their enemies can they take who will not obey? What City of their friends can they keep that are disobedient? What Army that is irregular and tumultuous can obtain a Victory? What readier way can men make to receive an overthrow in Battail, then when every one shall begin severally to consult of his own safety? What other good thing can be effected by those that do not obey their superiours? What Cities can be well governed? What houses can be preserved? How can ships be brought to the Coast whereunto they are bound? By what means more have we our selves acquired those good things which we now enjoy, then by obeying our Prince? For hereby it came to passe, that by day and by night we did both speedily come unto the place appointed, and with our whole forces following our Prince carryed all before us; while we left none of those things half done, which were enjoyn'd unto us. And therefore as it is apparent, that Obedience to our Governour is the greatest means to purchase good things; so assure your selves likewise, that the very same will prove the best means to preserve those things which are convenient for you.

For to Govern and to be Governed are of so near a relation the one unto the other, that from the composition of them together

(as (g) *Crito* the *Pythagorean* well noteth) ariseth both the strength and the concord of the whole State : the like necessity being of both, and arising from the same spring of the law of Nature. To which purpose that part of *Julius Cæsars* speech, in *Dio*, is very pertinent, (h) *Two both necessary and wholesome things hath Nature establish'd among men ; to Rule, and to be Ruled : without which it is impossible that any thing for never so small a time should hold out. Wherefore it becometh him that hath the government of*

any, to finde out such things as are fitting, and to enjoin them : as also him that is subject to the others authority, to yeeld obedience to him without all excuses, and to use all diligence in the performing of the thing that is commanded.

And of the two, Whether the want of Government or the want of Obedience would prove more pernicious to a State, is a point that *S. Chrysostome* maketh very

(g) Ἐν πλείῃ [ἀσυνεμοζα] τῇ ἀρχαρχίαν ποτὶ τὰς ἀρχοντας ἀποτελεῖ κρείττον καὶ ὁμόνοισιν. *Crito*, apud *Stobæum*, *Serm.* 1.

(h) Φύσει γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα πάντα καὶ σωτήρια, τὰ μὲν, ἀρχειν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τὰ δὲ, ἀρχεσθαι τέτακται καὶ ἀδυνατεῖν ὅτιν ὅνδ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὸ καὶ ὑπερβολῇ διατρέχειται. προστίκει τε τὸ μὲν, ἵνα παύσῃ πλεονεξίαν, ἐκφρονήσῃ τε τὰ δεύτα καὶ ἐπιτάτῃ τὴν πρὸς ὑπακούσαντα, πειθαρχεῖν ἀπερφεύσας, καὶ ἐκποιεῖν τὸ καλὸν καὶ ὠφέλιμον. *Dio*, *Hist. Roman.* lib. 41.

thou honourest the Power ordained by him, and him into whose hand he hath committed it. Happy is he that in this manner and for these respects doth honour the Power, and submit himself unto it: as miserable on the other side he is, who for these regards will not be subject. For he must undergo a double judgement: the one from God, because he doth contemn the Government ordained by him; the other from the Magistrates that are despised.

S. Jude, speaking of such as did (m) de- (m) Jude, vers. 8, 11.
spise Dominion, and speak evil of Dignities, sayes that they perished in the gainsaying of Core. This Core (or Korah) was a Levite; who by his office was to have (n) taught Ja- (n) Deut. 33. 10.
cob Gods judgements, and Israel his Law: but he, being one of those who (o) corrupted the (o) Malach. 2. 8.
covenant of Levi, (p) drew first three princi- (p) Numb. 16. 1,
pal men of the Tribe of Reuben, and then two 2, 3.
hundred and fifty Princes of the Assembly (famous in the Congregation, men of renown) into his confederacy; and having gathered his associates together against Moses and Aaron, stuck not to affront them thus unto their faces, *Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the Congregation are holy every one of them, and the Lord is among them: Wherefore then lift you up your selves above the Congregation of the Lord? as if they had (q) taken this (q) Heb. 7. 4.
honour unto themselves, and had not been called of God unto it. But by these mens strange
P 3 perishing*

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perishing in this gainsaying of theirs, even women did plainly see, that in opposing *Moses* and *Aaron* after this manner, they opposed God himself, the ordainer of their authority. For so the daughters of *Zelophehad* could

(r) Numb. 27. 3. say, (r) *Our Father died in the wilderness, and he was not in the company of them that gathered themselves together against the LORD in the company of Korah.* Nay the very words of the Spirit of God, concerning *Dathan* and

(s) Numb. 26. 9, *Abiram* are express to this purpose, (s) These
 10. *were famous in the Congregation, who strove against Moses and against Aaron in the company of Korah, when they strove against the*

*Psa. 106. 17, 18. *Lord. And *the earth opened her mouth, and Terra statim fa-*
ces suas in populi *swallowed them up together with Korah when*
divisores aperuit, *that company died; what time the fire devoured*
 & *contemptores* *two hundred and fifty men: and they became*
mandatorum Dei a sign.

avido ore absorbu-

it. Intra momenti spatium ad transglutiendos prædictos terra patuit, rapuit, clausa est. Et nè beneficium de mortis compendio consequi videretur, dum non essent digni vivere, iis nec mori concessum est: tartareo carcere subito clausi, antè sunt sepulti quàm mortui. Opat. lib. 1. contra Parmenian.

A dreadful sign indeed unto all them which afterwards should follow their steps:

(r) Jude vers. 13. to whom *S. Jude* saith is (r) *reserved the*
 with 2 Pet. 2. 10, *blackness of darkness for ever.* For what other
 17.

end may they expect, that dare adventure upon the like turbulent and seditious courses? The *Levite* begins the faction; he by his false persuasions

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persuasions draws the Nobles after him: his main motive being this, that the Ruler assumeth too much unto himself, and invadeth the peoples Rights and Liberties; others that will not run with them in that strain, being censur'd for temporizers, and such as have mens persons in admiration because of advantage. And without all doubt this is that $\pi\epsilon\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\nu}\nu$ \downarrow $\mathcal{L}\mathcal{S}\mathcal{G}$ wherewith the Father of lies laboureth to work discontentment in the minds of Subjects, and to steal away their hearts from the willing performance of that duty which they owe unto their Governours; to put into their heads, that others give, and they take unto themselves, a kind of a transcendent Power and Authority fitted for their own ends, which God never intended his people should subject themselves unto. Whereas no soul may exempt it self from that expresse declaration of his, (u) *Whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation.* Upon which ground we may very well conclude here with Gamaliel, *If this Counsel, or this Ordinance, be of GOD, ye cannot overthrow it; haply ye be found even to fight against God:* like those Giants, whom the Poets saign to have assaulted Heaven; from whose stock (y) *Plato* is pleas'd to derive their pedegree who shew themselves adverse unto the Magistrates.

(z) Ὁ Θεὸς ἔτι βασιλεὺς ἵνα ὁ ἀρχὸν ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ τυπωθεὶς, τὸν δικταὶν ἔχω. Chrysoſt. in Epist. ad Roman. Serm. 23. (tom. 3 Edit. Savil. p. 192.)

(1) Ὁ μὴ ἐκείνων ἐκείνῳ, τὸν Θεὸν πολεμῶν τὰ αὐτὰ νομοθετήσας. Id. ib. (p. 190.)

(b) Μὴ τίσιαι τὸν τάξιν ἀνατρέπωμεν, μὴδὲ τὸν Θεὸν πολεμῶμεν, τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἐκείνῳ διὰ τοῦ ἔργου ὁποδεκνῶμεν, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, τῇ τῷ Θεῷ διαταγῇ ἀντίστηκαν. Id. in Serm. I. de David & Saul (tom. 8 pag. 16.)

(c) Χεὶρὶ συνάργη, Χεὶρὶ ἡ σωθεῖς καὶ, παρ' ἐκείνου σοὶ τὸ ἔλεος, &c. ἐκείνῳ τῷ Θεῷ. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 17. ad cives timore percussos.

(d) Non sic potuit contemnere Casarem autorem potestatis sue, quem admodum legem gentis alienae. Arg. in Evang. Johan. tract. 116.

(e) Talem quippe Pilato Deus dedit potestatem, ut etiam esset sub Caesaris potestate. Ib.

Gregory Nazianzen telleth the Governour of his Province that (c) together with Christ he did rule the people and administer the office committed to his charge: that from him he had received the sword; and in that respect was to be accounted as the image of God. Which if it have place in a subordinate Magistrate, how much more in the Prince? from whom, under God, the Magistrate derives the power which he hath. For so S. Augustine layeth it down in the case of Pilate, that (d) Cesar was the author of his power; (e) God indeed having given him a power, but yet such a one as should be under the power of Cesar. And therefore Epiphanius, when he had declared, that in every Kingdom there are many Magistrates, but under one King; and proved our

of

of the XIIIth to the *Romans*, that all *those Powers were ordained by God*; he thus then buildeth upon that foundation,

(f) *You see that this Worldly Power is constituted by God, and from none but him hath received the sword for punishment. And we may not say because there are Principalities and Powers in the world, that there is no King over them: but that there are indeed such Principalities and Powers in the world, and yet they have a King above them. And upon this he*

infers, that these Powers are not opposite to the King, but subordinate unto him, for the administration of the whole Kingdom, and the well-ordering of the Land: there being no greater disorder that can be brought into a Commonwealth, then the making of these Subordinates to be Transcendents, by giving them allowance to make head against their Head, upon any pretext whatsoever.

Where the Word of God therefore would have us (g) *put in mind, ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι, to be subject to Principalities and Powers*; this ὑποταγή implyeth in it a subordination and orderly subjection to every one in his own proper rank and several degree. Thus the *Centurion* acknowledgeth in the

(f) Ὁρχαῖς ὅπῃ ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῇ ἡ κοσμι-
κή ἐκ Θεοῦ τέτακται, καὶ μαχαίρας
ἔλαβε πρὸς ἐξουσίαν (ἐκ ἀλλοχόθην δὲ
ποθεῖν, ὅλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ) εἰς ἐκδίκησιν·
καὶ ἡ δυνάμεισθα λέγειν, διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀρ-
χάς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐν κόσμῳ, τὴ βασι-
λεία τῶντων μὴ εἶναι βασιλεία· ἀλλὰ
εἶναι τὰς ἀρχάς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας ἐν κόσ-
μῳ, εἶναι καὶ τὴ τῶντων βασιλεία. ὡς
οὐκ ἐπὶ γῆς ὁρῶμεν, δίδειν καὶ ἐκ ἐ-
ναντίας τὰς ἀρχάς πρὸς βασιλεῖν, ἀλλ'
ὑποταγῆς εἰς διοίκησιν πάντων
τῆ βασιλείας, καὶ εἰς ἀτάξιν γῆς.
Epiphanius. contra Archontic.
haeres. 40.

Q

Gospel,

(g) Tit. 3. 1. with
Rom. 13. 1, 5.
and 1 Per. 2. 13.

The Obedience of the Subject.

(h) Luk. 7. 8. Gospel, (h) that he was a man set under authority; yet so, as he had also souldiers under him, who were as obedient to his commands, as he was to the injunctions of his Superiours. I say unto one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doth it. For (as Otho speaketh

(i) *Ita se Ducum auctoritas, sic rigor disciplina habet, ut multa per Centuriones Tribunosque tantum juberi expediat. Si ubi jubeantur, querere singulis liceat; pereunte obsequio, etiam imperium intercidit.* Tacit. Histor. lib. 1.

in Tacitus) (i) the Authority of Generals and rigour of military discipline is of that nature, that many things must be simply enjoyn'd by the Centurions and Colonels: If, when commands are given out it be allowed to dispute and question the matter, obedience failing, Government

will fall to ground also. Neither in the Camp alone, but in the Civil state likewise, this kind of subordination must necessarily be observ'd: this universal principle also being here fit to be taken into consideration,

(k) *Ἀεὶ γὰρ δι' ὃ ὑπάρχει ἕναρον, ἐκείνο μᾶλλον ὑπάρχει ὅς, δι' ὃ φιλοῦμαι, ἐκείνο μᾶλλον φίλον.* Aristot. Analytic. Poster. lib. 1. C. 2.

(k) That by which every thing is such, must it self much more be such. Which is thus applicable to our particular; If we yield honour and obedience to our Magistrates, for that authority which we see the Prince hath been pleas'd to impart unto them; it standeth with all reason that before and above all them the Prince himself should be much more honored and obeyed. And if we are to submit our

elves

selves to the subalterne and supreme Governour *δὲ ὁ Κύριον*, for the Lord (as we have heard out of (1) S. Peter) it will follow necessarily that the Lords own commands must in the first place be observed by us, whatsoever any Magistrate or King shall say to the contrary. Whereupon Gregory Nazianzen giveth this admonition to Courtiers and such as were in high places of authority, (m) *Continue faithful to your Kings: but first of all to God; and for him to them also, unto whom you have been concredited and committed by him.*

(m) Περὶ μάλιστα τῆς βασιλευσῶ. Θεῷ ὅτι ὁρῶμεν, δι' ὃν καὶ περὶ, οἷς ἐπιστάτε, καὶ οἷς παραδεδόθε-
de. Gregor Nazianz. Orat. 27. quæ

12. est in Latina Jo. Lewenklavii edit. ubi Gregorii interpres, Elias Cretensis Episc. *Nam propter Deum etiam illis ipsis fidei eritis quibus commissi à Deo, & ab eodem traditi estis. At qui propter Deum? quia si Deum metuctis & studiosè dabitis operam ut ejus mandata servetis, fideles his etiam Dei causâ eritis.*

For any man to (n) take upon him the administration of a publick office without the grant of the Prince; or yet to (o) crosse the authority, or (p) call in question the worthinesse of that Officer which he is pleas'd to make choice of; is by the Imperial law accounted a kind of *Sacrilege*. Now (q) if we reverence and fear those Magistrates that are elected by the King; saith S. Chrysostome, although

(n) l. 4. C. de crim. sacrileg.
(o) l. 5. C. de divers. rescript.
(p) l. 3. C. de crim. sacrileg.

(q) Ἐι γὰρ τὰς ἀρχοντας τέταρτος ὑποβασιλέως χειροτονούμενος, καὶ ποινῇ, καὶ κλέπῃ, καὶ λησῇ, καὶ ἀδικοῖ, καὶ ὁποῦν ὥπν ἔτερον, διδόνον καὶ πετεῖλον, ὃ δὲ τὴν ποινὴν καταφερονῶτες αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τῆ χειροτονήσεως, οὐκ ἀποπέμνουν πολλὰ μάλλον ἐπὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ ποινῇ. Chrysost. Sermon. I. de David & Saul.

The Obedience of the Subject.

they be wicked, although they be thieves, although they be robbers, although they be unjust, or whatever they be; not despising them for their wickedness, but standing in awe of them for the dignity of him that did elect them: much more ought we thus to do in the case of God, and of the King chosen by him, how unworthily otherwise he may hap to prove. Neither may we omit here that gradation which S. Augustine maketh, for the illustration of that subordinate power whereof we

(r) Si aliquid jusserit Curator, nonne faciendum est? Tamen si contra Proconsul jubeat, non utiq; contemnis potestatem, sed eligis majori servire. Nec hinc debet minor irasci si major prelatata est. Rursum, si aliquid ipse Proconsul jubeat, & aliud jubet Imperator, nunquid dubitatur, illo contempto, illi esse serviendum? Ergo si aliud Imperator, & aliud Deus; quid judicatis? August. de verbis Domini, Serm. 6.

(s) Sicut in potestatibus societatis humana major potestas minori ad obediendum preponitur, ita Deus omnibus. Id. lib. 3. Confession; cap. 8.

have spoken: (r) If thy Curator command thee any thing, must it not be done? (yes questionless) and yet if the Proconsul countermand (and thou obey him) thou despisest not the power of thy Curator, but servest a greater. Neither ought the lesser to be angry if the greater be preferr'd before it. Again if the Proconsul himself does command one thing, and the Emperor does command another; is there any doubt but that, contemning the one, we are to serve the other? Then if the Emperor does command one thing, and God another; what do you judge should be done? Namely that which in another place he himself resolveth, (s) As in the powers of humane society the greater

greater in point of obedience is preferred before the lesser, so must God be before all. Agreeable to the answer which Socra-

tes made to the Athenians,

(t) *I will obey God rather than*

you: and Peter and John to

the Rulers of the people and

Elders of Israel, (u) Whether it be right in (u) Act. 4. 19.

the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than

unto God, judge ye: And all the Apostles

afterward, joyntly and peremptorily, (x) We (x) Act. 5. 29.

ought to obey God rather than men: concer-

ning which thus Bernard,

(y) *It is a very perverse*

thing to profess thy self to be

obedient in that wherein thou

art known to dissolve a supe-

riour for an inferiour, that is,

a divine for a humane obedi-

ence. For what? The thing

that man commandeth, God for-

biddeth: and shall I hear man,

and turn the deaf ear to God?

So did not the Apostles: for

they cryed out, saying, It is better to obey God

then men.

(t) Πείσσομαι τῷ Θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ
ὑμῖν. Plato in Apolog. So-
cratis.

(y) Valde perversum est profiteri
te obedientem, in quo nosceris su-
periores propter inferiorem, id
est, Divinam propter humanam,
solvere obedientiam. Quid enim?
Quod jubet homo, prohibet Deus:
Et ego audiam hominem, surdus
Deo? Non sic Apostoli: clama-
bant quippe dicentes, Melius est
obedire Deo quam hominibus.
Bernard. Epistol. 7.

Upon the same grounds also, if any man shall think that he hath received hard measure from the inferiour Magistrate, he may, without breach of obedience, appeal unto the

Q. 3.

superiour ::

The Obedience of the Subject.

superiour : and if the superiour right him not, he may seek relief from the Supreme. As we see in the case of *S. Paul*, who from the Provincial governour (z) *was constrain'd to appeal unto Cesar*, and (a) *to be referr'd unto his hearing*. But if it so fall out, that he who is our highest Judge upon earth will be so far from doing justice, that he himself shall do us open wrong ; Reason it self tels us that there may not be a *processus ad infinitum* : and therefore if our humble supplications cannot prevail

with him to change his mind, there is nothing left, but that we (b) *commit* our selves and our causes to God *that judgeth righteously*. So *Athanasius* in his *Apology* to the Emperour *Constantius*, (c) *If I had been accus'd before others, saith he, I would have appeal'd unto your Majesty ; as the Apostle appeal'd unto Cesar, and his enemies plots against him ceased. But seeing they have taken the boldness to calumniate me before thee, to whom shall I appeal from thee ? but to the Father of him who said, I am the truth : that he may incline thine heart unto gentleness.*

(z) Act. 28. 19.

(a) Act. 25. 21.

(b) 1 Pet. 2. 23. with Psal. 37. 5, 6.

(c) 'Εἰ μὲν οὐκ παρ' ἄλλοις ἡμῶν διαβληθεὶς, τίω σὺν δώσειν ἐπε-
καλέσμεν· ὡς ὁ Ἀπίστολος ἐπεκα-
λέσατο τὸτε τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ πέποι-
ται σοὶ ἐχθρῶν ἢ κατ' αὐτὸς ἐπιβε-
λή. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρὰ σοὶ τε πολ-
υήκοι καταπεῖν, τίνα ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐπι-
καλέσμεν ; καὶ πατέρα τὸ λέγειν τῷ
'Εγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια· ἵνα σὺ τὸν
καρδίαν εἰς δόξαν κλίνῃ. Athanas.
Apolog.

ness. And *Aeneas Silvius*, (d) *Although it be lawful to inform the Prince by way of supplication, and humbly to petition for the restitution of our right; yet we may not clamour, nor disgrace or oppose him, if he persist: forasmuch as there is no man that may take cognisance of his temporal acts. That which the Prince doth, although unjustly, we are patiently to tolerate; and either to expect amends from his successor, or else the correction of the heavenly Judge, who doth not suffer violences and injuries to be perpetual. Such an appeal as this did David use in his parly with Saul when he so eagerly sought after his life without a cause, and God had delivered him into his hand, that he might have done to him what he pleas'd:*

(e) *The Lord judge between me and thee, and the Lord avenge me of thee: but mine hand shall not be upon thee. (As saith the proverb of the ancients, Wickedness proceedeth from the wicked; but mine hand shall not be upon thee.) After whom is the King of Israel come out? after whom dost thou pursue? after a dead dog, after a flea. The Lord therefore be judge, and judge between me and thee; and see, and plead my cause, and deliver me out of thine hand. And when he had fallen*

(d) *Quamvis liceat cum per viam supplicationis informare, humiliterq; petere restitutionem, non tamen reclamare licet, vituperare, vel impugnare, si perseveret: cum nemo sit qui de suis factis temporalibus possit cognoscere. Tolerandum est patienter quod Princeps facit, quamvis iniquè, expectandaq; est successoris emendatio, vel superni correctio iudicis, qui violentias atq; injurias non sinit esse perpetuas. Aen. Silv. lib. de ortu & autorit. Imperii, cap. 16. Vide etiam ibid. cap. 21, & 23, de appellationibus ab Imperatoris sententia non admittendis.*

(e) 1 Sam. 24.
12, 13, &c.

into

(f) 1 Sam. 26. into his danger the second time, (f) *The Lord*
 23, 24. *render to every man his righteousness and his*
faithfulness: for the Lord delivered thee into
my hand to day, but I would not stretch forth
mine hand against the Lords Anointed. And be-
hold as thy life was much set by this day in mine
eyes, so let my life be much set by in the eyes of
the Lord, and let him deliver me out of all tri-
bulation. Hereupon the author of the Questi-
 ons upon the old and new Testament (in the 4th

(g) *Quâ ratione David Saul,*
postquam Deus ab eo recessit,
Christum Domini vocat, & ho-
norem desert ei? Non nescius
David Divinam esse traditionem
in officio ordinis Regalis, idcirco
Saul in eadem adhuc traditione
positum honorificat; ne Deo in-
juriam facere videretur, qui
his ordinibus honorem decrevit.
Quæst. 35. ex Vet. & Nov. Test.

(h) *Sine causa me, victoria, pro-*
vocas: frustra me, occasio, in tri-
umphos invitas. Volebam hostem
vincere: sed prius est Divina præ-
cepta servare. Non, inquit, mit-
tam manus in unctum Domini.
Repressit cum gladio manum: &
dum timuit oleum, servavit ini-
micum. Optat. lib. 2. contra
Parmenian.

Tome of S. Augustines works)
 demandeth, (g) *for what reason*
David did call Saul, The Lords
Anointed, and did honour unto
him after that Saul had departed
from him? and maketh answer,
that David being not ignorant
that there was a Divine ordi-
nance in the office of a state Re-
gal, did therefore honour Saul,
who as yet had the priviledge of
that ordinance; lest he might
seem to offer injury unto God,
who had decreed honour to be
given to those of this rank.
Optatus brings David in, thus
speaking, while he had his ene-
my at so great an advantage,
 (h) *Victory, thou provokest me*
without cause: in vain, Occasion,
thou invitest me to triumph. Tis
true I had a desire indeed to

over-

overcome my enemy: but chiefly I must look to the keeping of Gods commandments. I will not stretch forth mine hand against the Lords Anointed. Upon this he drew back his hand and sword (saith Optatus) and whilest he rederenc'd his anointing, spared his enemy.

Such another speech does Basil of Seleucia attribute unto him, (i) God hath delivered up mine enemy unto me: but I will not stain the gift with slaughter, I will not pollute the favour with bloud. Let him seek after me again, let him persecute me. It is better to suffer

then to kill. And if he again persecute me, we have resolved to flie: although he persecute me, God cannot be persecu-

ted. And Chrysostom, (k) He is wicked, you will say, exceeding wicked, full of innumerable vices, and bent against us with all extremity. True; but he is a King, a Prince, one to whose hands the Government of us is committed. Nor yet doth he say, King; but what? that he is The Lords Anointed:

thereby making him venerable, not from the honour he had here below, but from the approbation which he had from above: as if he should have said, Dost thou despise thy fellow-

R

(i) Παρέδωκε τὸ ἐχθρὸν, ἀλλ' ὕβριζω τὸ δῶρον τῷ φόβῳ, ἐμολύω τιμὴν χάριν τοῖς αἵμασι. Ζηταίτω πάλιν καὶ διακίτω τὸ φονεῖν τὸ ὑπομένειν λισιτελέσει. καὶ πάλιν διακί, τὸ φάγειν μεμελετημένον. καὶ ἔτι διακί, Θεὸς ἐκ δίδει διακίει. Basil. Seleuc. Orat. 16. five in David Serm. 4.

(k) Τί λέγεις; ὅτι μισοῦς καὶ παμμίανθ' καὶ μυείων γέμων κακῶν, καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἡμᾶς διαθείς; ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς, ἀλλὰ ἄρχων, ἀλλὰ τιμωροσάων τιμὴν ἡμετέραν ἐνεχέειν. καὶ ἐκ εἰπες βασιλεὺς. ἀλλὰ τί; ὅτι Χριστὸς Κυεῖν ὄν, ἐκ ἀπὸ τῆς κατωθεν τιμῆς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνωθεν ἡφους ποιήσεαι αἰδέσθαι. Καταρθεύεις τὸ σωθῆναι, φησὶν; αἰδέσθαι τὸ δεσπόειν. Διαπνέεις τὸ χειροτονημένον; φοβῆσθαι τὸ χειροποιήσασθαι. Chrys. Serm. 1. de David & Saul.

servant?

The Obedience of the Subject.

servants? yet reverence the Lord. Dost thou make light account of him who is chosen? yet fear him by whom he was chosen.

- To this election of his the *Gibeonites* also had respect, even then when they sought for a revenge of that bloody act which he had
- (I) 2 Sam. 21. 5, committed against their house: (1) *The man*
 6. *that consumed us, and that devised against us that we should be destroyed from remaining in any of the coasts of Israel; let seven men of his sons be delivered unto us, and we will hang them up unto the Lord in Gibeah of Saul, whom*
THE LORD DID CHOOSE.
 Wherewith we may compare that part of the Sacred History wherein the first publique inauguration of *Saul* is thus laid down,
- (II) 2 Sam. 10. (m) *And Samuel said to all the people, See ye*
 24, 25, &c. *him whom* **THE LORD HATH CHOSEN**, *that there is none like him among all the people? And all the people shouted, and said, God save the King. Then Samuel told the people the manner of the Kingdom, and wrote it in a book, and laid it up before the Lord: and Samuel sent all the people away, every man to his house. And Saul also went home to Gibeah: and there went with him a band of men, whose hearts God had touched. But the children of BELIAL said, How shall this man save us? and they despised him. Wherein it is a thing very considerable, that Samuel was not more care-*
 full

full to see the rights of the Crown entred into a book and laid up before the Lord, then the Lord himself was provident, to record the different affections of these men toward their King in his own book; (n) *that it might be for* (n) Isa. 30 8. *the latter day (or, the time to come) for ever and ever.*

Some *despised* him in their hearts, and *disgraced* him in their words, saying, *How shall this man save us?* which is interpreted, as if they had spoken in plain tearms, (o) *Shall* (o) 1 Sam. 11. *Saul reign over us?* and these are censured by the holy Ghost to be *children of Belial*, that is, *men without yoke, or naughty persons.* For (p) *the worst* of men, as one well noteth, do of all others with most repugnancy admit a Governour. Which induced the Roman Judges in the case of him who was found to have neglected the respect due to *Servilius Isauricus*, easily to (q) *believe, that he who knew not to reverence the prime men of State, would run without scruple into any disorder whatsoever.* Whereof that excess of filthiness and riot, where-with (r) *S. Peter* and (s) *S. Jude* do charge (r) 2 Per. 2. 10. those *presumptuous* persons who *despised domination*, and *spake evill of dignities*, may serve for a sufficient demonstration.

(p) *Pessimus quisq; asperrimè rectorem patitur.* Sallust. Orat. 1. de Republ. ordinanda, ad C. Cæsarem.

(q) *Eum qui venerari principes nesciret, in quodlibet facinus procursum crediderunt.* Valer. Maxim. lib. 8. c. 5.

Thus

- Thus *Sheba* the son of *Bichri*, who first attempted the drawing of the Cities of *Israel* to revolt from *David* their King, is by Gods Spirit branded in the forehead with this note
- (t) 2 Sam. 20. 1. of being (t) *a man of Belial*: and they who afterwards gathered themselves unto *Ferobeam* the son of *Nebat*, and (with a success answerable unto their designs) *strengthened themselves against Rehoboam* (*Dauids* grandchilde) *when he was young and tender-hearted and could not withstand them*, are styled by
- (u) 2 Chr. 13. 7. King *Abiah*, (u) *vain men, the children of Belial*: which in effect is as much as if it had
- (x) Josh. 8. 44. been said, that they were of their (x) *father the Devil*; if *S. Pauls* application of the word may be admitted, in that question of his,
- (y) 1 Cor. 6. 15. (y) *What concord hath Christ with Belial?* And sure'y, if they who honoured their King,
- (z) 1 Sam. 10. 26. had their (z) *hearts touch'd by God* (as we have heard) such as bend their indeavours another way, should do well to lay their hand upon their heart, and consider with fear and trembling, whether they find not there some
- (a) Ephes. 2. 2. touch of (a) *the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience.*

But to return to *Saul*: the only motive, we see, that restrained *David* from stretching his hand against him, was this consideration,

(b) 1 Sam. 24. 6, 10 & 26. 11, 23. that he was (b) *the anointed of the Lord*. Which lest any should think to have proceeded,

ded, not so much out of the staiedness of his judgement, as out of the facility of his disposition, he peremptorily doth thus lay down the resolution of the point in the generall,

(c) *Who can stretch forth his hand against the* (c) 1 Sam. 26.9.

Lords Anointed, and be guiltless? And maketh this the ground of that sentence of death

which he pronounced afterwards upon the

Amalekite, who took the killing of Saul upon himself, (d) 2 Sam. 1. 14, 16.

(d) *How wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thine hand, to destroy the Lords*

Anointed? Thy bloud be upon thy head: for

thy mouth hath testified against thee, saying, I

have slain the Lords Anointed.

Et cum compleret observantiā, vindicavit occisum.
Optat. lib. 2. contra Parmenian.

And this indeed must be made the main foundation, not only of the observance, but also of all the other branches of that allegiance which we do owe unto our Prince: that with the right which he hath obtained by Election or Succession here below, we be careful to conjoine that unction and ordination which he hath received from above.

Both which, in this present case of *Saul*, are

by *Samuel* thus linked together, (e) *Behold* (e) 1 Sam. 12. 13.

the King whom ye have chosen, and whom ye

have desired: And behold the Lord hath set a

King over you. So (f) *G O D* chose *Solomon*, (f) 1 Chron. 29.

and all the Congregation made him King, and

anointed him to the Lord to be the chief Gover-

nour: whereupon ensued that obedience,

both of the **Commons** and the great ones,

- which in the Scripture is thus expressed ;
 (g) 1 Chron. 29. (g) *Then Solomon sate on the throne of the*
 23, 24. *L O R D as King in stead of David his Fa-*
ther and prospered, and all Israel obeyed him :
and all the Princes and the mighty men, and all
the Sons likewise of King David, submitted
themselves unto Solomon the King ; or, as the
Hebrew hath it, gave the hand under him. For
 (h) Dan. 4. 17, the Kingdom being Gods own, and (h) *by him*
 25, 32. *given to whomsoever he will ; it will follow,*
 (i) *Principi suo, that unto our (i) Prince, who beareth the place*
qui vicem Dei of God, we are to be subject as unto God him-
agit : sicut dicit self : as by the author of the Commentaries
Daniel propheta, upon S. Pauls Epistles, attributed to S. Am-
Dei est enim, in- brose, is well observ'd.
quit, regnam ; &
cui vult dabit il-
lud. Unde & Dominus, Reddite, ait, quæ sunt Cesaris, Cesari. Huic
ergò subjiciendi sunt, sicut Deo. Ambrose in Rom. 13.

Neither is it for nothing, that we finde in
 the Scripture *God* and the *King* so neerly
 joyn'd together: once indeed in two severall

- (k) 1 Per. 2. 17. sentences, (k) *Fear God. Honour the King ;*
 but more ordinarily in the self-
 same period ; with one verb
 relating to them both. So for
 that former point of *fear* ; we
 are elsewhere required, to
 (l) *fear the Lord and the*
King : and for the other of
honour ; we read, that all the
 congregation (m) *worshipped*
 the
- (l) Prov. 24. 21. where the Lxx
 read, *Fear*, (or as it is cited in
 the Epistle of Ignatius ad Smyr-
 nens. & by Theophilus Antio-
 chenus lib. 1. ad Autolyc. Ho-
 nour) *God and the King, and to*
neither of them be thou disobedient.
- (m) 1 Chron. 29. 20.

the Lord and the King. As for the contrary likewise, in the Propheſie of *Iſaiah*,

(n) *They ſhall curſe their*

King and their God: and in (n) *Iſai. 8. 21.*

the falſe accuſation contrived

againſt *Naboth*, (o) *Thou* (o) *1 King. 21. 10, 13.*

didſt blaſpheme God and the

King: as if the honour or diſhonour of the

one were folded up and involved with the

reſpect or diſreſpect of the other. Where-

unto it were not much amiſs, this alſo

ſhould be added; that the perſon of the

King hath heretofore been accounted ſo

ſacred, that the crimes committed againſt

him are in the *Civill Law* parallel'd with

that which ſtriketh at *God* himſelf imme-

diately, I mean *Sacrilege*. So in the places

before quoted out of *Juſtinians Code*, A

man may not aſſume an office, not granted

unto him by the Prince, *ſine Sacrilegii*

crimine: and to oppoſe the

Officers placed by him, *Sacri-*

legii inſtar eſt. By the ſame

Law, (p) *He that reſiſteth*

the Princes Reſcript, is to be

puniſhed as a Sacrilegious per-

ſon: and (q) *Treaſon* is ac-

counted a crime next unto Sa-

crilege (that is, the imme-

mediate violation of *Gods own*

Majeſty:) as by the *Greeks* it is eſteem'd

not a whit worſe, who uſe no other term

for

(p) 'Ο ὁβιαδ'ποτε ἐναντιθεὶς βασι-
λικῇ ἀντ'γραφῇ, ὡς ἐρεῖται π-
μορείῳ. *Eclg. Baſilic. 2. tit. 5.*
c. 23, 24.

(q) *Proximum Sacrilegio cri-*
men eſt, quod Majeſtatis dici-
tur. l. 1. D. ad leg. Jul. Ma-
jeſt.

for the expression of Treason against the
 (r) Dio, Hist. Prince, but (r) ἀσεβεία impiety, and (s) καθ-
 Rom. lib. 59. de σέβας, which Eustathius expounds (t) an op-
 C. Caligula, τὰ posing ones self against Kings who are consecra-
 τὴ ἀσεβείας ἐγκλή- ted unto God; παρὰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ὅτι γίνεται, ἥτοι τὸ
 ματα ποίους. & βασιλέως, because it is committed against a sacred
 πόστ, τὰ τὴ ἀσεβείας person, that is, the King, saith Suidas. And
 ἐγκλήματα ἐπὶ α- (u) what is greater (saith Justinian) what more
 γαλῶν, ἢς σὺ λω (u) what is greater (saith Justinian) what more
 αὐτοῖς ἐν Ἱερῶναι ἱ- sacred then Imperial majesty? or who is puffed
 κέλευσε. & lib. 60. up with such a height of pride that he should con-
 de Claudio, τὸ temn the Kings sentence?
 ἐγκλημα τὴ ἀσεβείας
 ἐκ ἐν τοῖς γεγραμμέ-
 σι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων ἐπανοῖ. (s) Philoxen. Glossar. ab
 H. Stephano edit. *Majestatis crimen καθυσώπτης ἐγκλημα.* Glossar.
 Juris à Car. Labræo edit. τὸ καὶ καθυσώπτης, τὸ καὶ περὶ δόξης καὶ ἐπιβε-
 λῆς βασιλέως. Eclog. Basilic. lib. 60. tit. 36. c. 12. Σβέντω τὰ ἐγκλή-
 ματα τῇ περὶ τῇ τῇ κατηγοριῶν, καὶ τὸ καὶ καθυσώπτης, ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ
 τὴ περὶ δόξης καὶ τὴ καὶ βασιλέως ἐπιβελῆς. Vide ejusd. citat. cap. 17, & 20.
 & tit. 50. ejusd. libri, cap. 9. item Socrat. l. 5. Hist. Eccl. c. 14. de
 Symmacho, & Snid. in Καθυσώπτης. (t) Ἀντίθεσις καὶ ἡ ὁσίον τῇ Θεῷ
 βασιλέων. Eustath. in Iliad. 3. (pag. 647. ed. Rom.) (u) *Quid majus,*
quid sanctius Imperiali est Majestate? vel quis tanta superbia fastidio
(an fastigio potius?) tumidus est, ut regalem sensum contemnat? l. 12.
Cod. de leg. & constitut. Princip.

From hence also it is, that others have

(x) *Existimare quidem de Prin-*
cipibus nemini fas est. Nam &
in vestibulo suo inquirentem re-
pellit objecta veneratio; & si
qui propius adierunt, quod oculis
in Solem se contententibus evenit,
prestrictâ acie, videndi facultate
carnervant. Nazar. Paneg. dict.
 Const. ntino Imp.

held it (x) unfit for any so
 much as to passe their judge-
 ments upon Princes and their
 affairs. In the very entrance
 (saith Nazarius) that venera-
 tion which accompanies their
 Majesty, presents it self, and re-
 pels busie inquirers: and if any
 hav

have drawn nearer, the same hath befallen them which hath done those who earnestly bend their eyes towards the Sun ; their sight is dazled, and they lose the faculty of seeing. To this purpose M. Terentius, in his speech to the Emperour Tiberius, touching the advancement of Sejanus, (y) *To us it belongs not to examine whom you advance above others, or upon what considerations. The sole and supreme disposal of things God hath given you: to us left nothing but the honour of our obedience. Which honour or glory of obedience, seeing it appeareth (z) most in that which a man hath least mind to do* (as Pliny observeth in his Panegyrick unto Trajan) the ready way to attain thereunto, is to frame our wils to the cheerful performance of that duty which we owe unto our Governours: according to that of Seneca, (a) *He who doth that willingly which he is commanded, escapes the most irksome thing that is in service ; which is, to do that which he would not do. Not him who being commanded doth a thing, can we call miserable ; but him who doth unwillingly what is commanded him.*

(y) *Non est nostrum astimare, quem supra ceteros, & quibus de causis extollas. Tibi summum rerum judicium Dii dedere ; nobis obsequii gloria relicta est. Tacit. Annal. lib. 6.* Where for that observable terme of the glory of obedience, a like parallel may be noted in Plinies Panegyrick to Trajan, speaking of the Emperess his wife, *Uxori sufficit obsequii gloria.*

(z) *Major est obsequii gloria in eo quod quis minus velit. Plin. Panegy.*

(a) *Qui imperia libens excipit, partem acerbissimam servitutis effugit, facere quod nolit. Non qui jussus aliquid facit, miser est : sed qui invitus facit. Senec. Epist. 61.*

We read that when the Souldiers cryed out unto *Valentinian* the elder, whom they had newly elected Emperour, that he should

* *Quantulum refert deponas, an partiaris imperium? nisi quod difficilins hoc est.* Plin. Panegy. ad Trajanum.

(b) Τὸ μὴ ἐλέσθαι με ἄρχεν ὑμεῖς, ὡς ἄνδρες στρατῶν, ἐν ὑμῖν ἢ ἐπὶ ἡ εἰσέδε, ὃ νῦν αἰσῆτε, ἐκ ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐμοί. καὶ καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀρχο- μίαις ὑμῶν πούχων ἀρχεν, ἐμὲ δ' ὡς βασιλεῖα τὰ περὶ ἐκείνη σκοπεῖν. Sozomen. hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 6.

take to himself an * associate; he made this answer unto them, (b) *It lay in you to chuse me your Governour: but now you have chosen me, what you desire is not in your own power, but in mine. It belongs to you, as subjects, to be quiet and rest contented; and to me, as your King, to consider what is fit to be done.* And for the general duty of obedience to Kings, we

finde the testimonies of Gods word gathered together by the Archbishops and Bishops of *France* assembled in a National Synod, held at

(c) *Quod potestati Regali, quæ non nisi à Deo ordinata est, humili- ter atq; fideliter cuncti parère debeant subjecti.* Concil. Paris. VI. l. 2. c. 8. (tom. 2. Concil. Gallix, pag. 533.)

(d) Sic (leg. Si) Hieremias propheta Dei pro vita idololatra Regis Nabuchodonosor orare admonet; quantò magis pro salute Christi- norum Regum ab omnibus ordini- bus Deo est humiliter supplican- dum? Ibid. p. 534.

Paris in the year of our Lord DCCCXXIX under this title, (c) *That all Subjects ought humbly and faithfully to obey the Regal Power, as being or- dain'd by none but God: the last whereof, taken out of Jer. 29. 7. is thus by them enfor- ced, (d) If Jeremy the Prophet of God admonished them to pray for the life of Nabuchodonosor an idolatrous King; how much more ought humble supplications*

to be made by all sorts of men for the safety of Christian Kings? Which Optatus delivered long before them out of 1 Tim.

2. 1, 2. (e) Deservedly doth Paul teach that we should pray for Kings and those that are in authority, although the Emperour were such as did live rather like a Pagan then a Christian: and Chrysostome, out of Rom. 13. 7. (f) If he prescribed these things, the Governours being at that time

(e) Merito Paulus docet, orandum esse pro Regibus & potestatibus: etiamsi talis esset Imperator qui gentiliter viveret. Optat. l. 3. contra Parmenian.

(f) 'Εἰ γὰρ ἑλλώων ὄντων τότε ἡμεῖς ἀρχόντων ταῦτα ἐρημοθέησε, πολλὰ μᾶλλον νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πᾶσι ταῦτα γίνεσθαι ἔσθι. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Rom. Serm. 23.

Infidels; much more ought this to be done under those who have receiv'd the faith. All which, by just analogy, may be deduced out of that rule which the Apostle layeth down, in 1 Tim. 6. 1, 2. Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own Masters worthy of all honour; that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing Masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren: but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit.

For the further declaration whereof, we may observe;

First, *A household is a kind of a little Commonwealth, and a Commonwealth a great household:*

(g) Ὁσῶν γὰρ ἡ *household*: as is observed both by (g) *Aristotle* in his *Politicks*, and by *Eustathius* upon that verse of *Homer*,

οἰκονομικὴ βασιλεία
πρὸς οἰκίας ὅτιν. ὅπως
ἡ βασιλεία πᾶσι
καὶ ἐθνεσιν ἐνδὲς ἡ πλεί-
ον, οἰκονομία.
Aristot. Polit. I.

(h) Ἀυτὰρ ἐγὼν οἰκοῖο ἀναξ ἔσμεν ἡμετέροιο.

3. c. 11. & in
Stobæi Eclogis
Ethicis (p. 195.
Edit. Plantin.)
Μικρὰ γὰρ πρὸς ἑταί-
ρῳ πόλις, ὁ οἶκος.

And therefore what in the one a Husband, a Father, and a Master may expect from those who have such relations to him; the like, by due proportion, is to have place in the other.

(h) Hom. Odyss.
α. verse 397. ad
quem Eustathius,

For (i) *that which the Apostle speaketh of the Master and the Servant, is to be understood likewise of Powers and Kings, and of all the high estates of this world, saith S. Augustine.*

Ὅσα δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐν
Ἰλιαδί, ἔγω καὶ ὦδε
ἀνακλῆ τὸ οἰκοδεσπότην λέγει σιμῶν, διὰ τὸ δεῖν τὸ οἶκον πόλιν. ἔδ) μικρὰ,
ὡσῶς ἂν πόλιν τιμὴ πόλιν, οἶκον μέγα. (i) Quod dixit de domino &
servo, hoc intelligite de potestatibus & Regibus, & de omnibus culmi-
nibus hujus seculi. August. in Psal. 124.

Secondly, that as *S. Paul* elsewhere adviseth Christian Servants to carry themselves as they ought to do toward their Masters, (k) *that they might adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things*: so in this place he dissuadeth them from the contrary upon the same ground, *that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphem'd*; as in that other place also he requires Wives to be mindful of the duty they owe unto their Husbands, (l) *that the Word of God might not be blasphemed*. Which *S. Peter* doth thus forcibly presse for that subjection

(k) Tir. 2. 10.

(l) Tit. 2. 5.

subjection which Christian Subjects owe to their Kings and Governours; (m) *For so is the will of God, saith he, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.* And why foolish? because there cannot be imagin'd a greater folly, then to charge the *Profession* itself, or the doctrine of God, which utterly condemneth these disorders, with the contrary practice of the *Professours*. Which cavill yet the Apostle would have us really confute by our good behaviour: and so either stop the mouths of these fools altogether; or if they will needs open them, make them to do it with shame enough: (n) *that whereas they speak evill of us, as of evil doers, they may be ashamed that falsly accuse our good conversation in Christ.* (m) 1 Pet. 2. 15. (n) 1 Pet. 3. 16.

Thirdly, that how unworthy soever Masters (and by the same reason Parents and Magistrates) be otherwise in respect of their personal defects; yet such as God hath placed under their authority, are to *count them worthy* not only of *h* *nour*, but also of *all honour*: we being not herein so much to look unto their persons as unto the ordinance of God, who hath placed them over us; and wisely to consider, that in respect of that dignity and power received from above, not of their personal virtues, all this Honour is due unto them. (o) *Although he be a contemner of* Justin. Novel. 12.

the laws and a wicked man, yet is he a Father notwithstanding, saith Justinian: and (p) the

(p) *Liberto & filio semper honesta & sancta persona patris ac patroni videri debet. l. Liberto. D. de obsequ. parent. & patron. pratt.*

(q) *Qui resistit potestati Dei ordinationi resistit. Quales enim esse debeant hi qui imperant, non est à subditis discutiendum. Lib. de conflictu vitor. & virtut. c. 5. (tomo 9. oper. Augustini.)*

(r) *Sive bona sit illa potestas, seu mala, quicumq; ei resistit (subtrahendo servitium ab ea, denegando tributum, & honorem non prabendo quem ei debet prabere) Dei ordinationi resistit & dispositioni, ejus ordinatione isti principantur. Haymo, in Rom. 13.*

(s) *Bonos Imperatores voto expectere, qualescunq; tolerare. Tacit. Histor. lib. 4.*

(t) *Quomodo sterilitatem aut nimios imbres, & cetera natura mala; ita luxum, vel avaritiam dominantium tolerato. Vitia erunt, donec homines: sed neq; hæc continua; & meliorum interventu pensantur. Id. ibid.*

person of the Father, saith Ulpian, ought alwayes to be accounted honourable and sacred to the childe. So for other Governments: (q) He that resisteth the Power, resisteth the ordinance of God. For what kind of men those ought to be that do command, is not to be discussed by their subjects, saith the Author of the book of the conflict betwixt vices and vertues. For (r) whether the power be good or bad, saith Haymo, whosoever doth resist it (by withdrawing his service from it, by denying tribute, & not giving unto it that honour which he ought to give) resisteth the ordinance and disposition of God, by whose appointment they bear rule. And thus even among the Heathen, Marcellus (in Tacitus) professeth that he (s) prayed and wish'd indeed for good Princes; but would tolerate them whatsoever they were: and Petilius Cerealis (in the same Author) useth the like perswasion unto others, (t) As you endure sometimes

times barrenness and drought, and sometimes immoderate rain, and such other inconveniences of nature, so tolerate the riotous life and avarice of your Governours. As long as men are, faults will bee. The comfort is, they are not continual, and are countervail'd by the intervention of better things.

Fourthly, that difference of Religion doth make no whit lesse due this Honour to our Superiours: for, not in regard of their Religion do we owe it to them, but of their dignity, and the power God hath

given them over us. And (u) hence it is (saith the Author of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament, (thought to be the Roman Deacon Hilary) that we give honour unto a Pagan, if plac'd in authority; although he be in himself most unworthy of it, who holding Gods place, gives the Devil thanks for it: but the honour we give to him, his place challengeth.

(n) *Hinc est ut gentilem in potestate tamen positum honorificemus; licet ipse indignus sit, qui Dei ordinem tenens, gratias agit Diabolo. Potestas enim exigit, quia meretur honorem. Quæst. 35. ex Vet. & Nov. Test. (tomo 4. oper. Augustini.)*

Lastly, that S. Paul in this place with honour doth couple service as the most considerable part thereof. Which maketh him elsewhere (x) out of the Commandment, Honour thy Father and Mother, to inferre this duty of obedience, Children obey

(x) Eph. 6. 1, 2.

obey your Parents in the Lord : for it is right.

And yet, (y) *as nothing could be spoken so absurdly which was not maintain'd by some of the Philosophers* ; so wanted

(y) *Nihil tam absurde dici potest, quod non dicatur ab aliquo Philosophorum.* Cicer. lib. 2. de Divinat.

(z) *Aut rectè, inquiunt, imperat pater, aut perperam. Si rectè imperat ; non quia imperat parendum, sed quoniam id fieri jus est, faciendum est : si porperam ; nequaquam scilicet faciendum, quod fieri non oportet. Nunquam igitur est patri parendum quæ imperat.* A. Gell. l. 2. c. 7.

(a) *Argutiola quippe hæc frivola & inanis est.* Ibid.

(b) *Non integra est propositio dicenda, Aut honesta sunt quæ imperat pater, aut turpia. Neq; ὅτις ὅπου δὲ δεῖ δυνάμει videri potest ; deest enim disjunctioni isti tertium, Aut neq; honesta sunt, neq; turpia.*

there not some of them, who endeavoured to overthrow this so great a right (and so deeply founded in the Law of God, and the light of Nature) with this poor and silly Sophisme, (z) *Either the Father doth command that which is right, or that which is wrong. If he command that which is right ; it is to be obeyed, not because he commandeth it, but because justice requires it should be done : if what is wrong, surely because wrong it ought not to be done. And therefore the Father is not to be obeyed in any thing which he commandeth.* To this (a) frivolous and vain argumentation (which taketh away all obedience as well in Church and Common-wealth as in private families) A. Gellius makes answer, that (b) this Proposition, *Either the things which a Father commandeth are good or bad,*

bad, is imperfect; there wanting the third member in the disjunction, which compriseth such things as in themselves are neither good nor bad, but of (c) a middle and indifferent nature. Of this division tripartite thus Bernard cleerly and significantly, *Some things are purely good, some purely evil. In these no obedience is due unto men: forasmuch as the former are not to be omitted although they should be forbidden, nor the latter committed although they should be commanded. But between these there are certain middle things which, in respect of the manner, place, time, or person, may be both good and evil. In these the law of obedience takes place, as it were in the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which was in the midst of Paradise. And in things of this kinde it is not lawful for us to preferre our own minds before the pleasure of our Masters.*

(c) *Quæ in medio sunt, & à Gracis tum adicipiuntur, tum præ appellatur. Ibid.*

(d) *Sanè hoc advertendum, quòd quædam sunt pura bona, quædam pura mala: & in his nullam deberi hominibus obedientiam; quoniam nec illa committenda sunt etiam cum prohibentur, nec ista vel cum jubentur committenda. Porro inter hæc sunt media quædam, quæ pro modo, loco, tempore, vel persona, & mala possunt esse & bona: Et in his lex posita est obedientia, tanquam in ligno scientiæ boni & mali, quod erat in medio Paradisi. In his profectò fas non est nostrum sensum sententiæ præscribere Magistrorum. Bernard. Epistol. 7.*

So that if any man will be so perverse as to call in question the Power which his Superiour hath to command in things of this middle and indifferent nature; you see how easily he may be persuaded to shake

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hands

hands with those Libertines, who hold themselves not bound to give obedience to the commandments of man in any thing. Whereas men of sound judgement have always been of the minde, that the Authority of such as God hath placed over us should be esteemed so unviolable, that unless the thing by them commanded did certainly and evidently appear to be unlawful, we ought to yield obedience thereunto; and not to suspend or deferre the doing thereof upon every idle scruple that may come into our heads, much lesse do otherwise then we are commanded, because we imagine we have better reason to lead us otherwise. And therefore when *Craſſus*, having occasion to make a Ram for the battery of the wals of a certain town in *Asia*, gave order that of two beams, which he had seen, the greater should be sent to him; and the Master of the works sent the smaller, as in his opinion more fit for the use intended, and much more easie for carriage; he caused the fellow to be soundly

(e) *Corrumpi atq; dissolvi officium omne imperantis ratus, si quis ad id quod facere iustus est, non obsequio debito, sed them.*

consilio non desiderato respondeat

A. Gell. l. 1. c. 13. ubi *to desiderato* ex primis Venetis editionibus Locatelli & Aldi est repositum: pro quo recentiores *considerato* legunt.

whipp'd for his labour, as well (e) *knowing that al power of command would be extinguish'd, if men should be permitted to satisfie what should be enjoyned to them, not with obedience due to it, but counsel not desired of them.*

And

And who seeth not what confusion would be brought, as well into a Family as a State, if a Son, or a Servant, or a Subject might have liberty to stand upon terms and chop Logick with his Father, Master, or Prince, and refuse to yield obedience to their commands, untill he should see some reason for it?

(f) *When the Lawyers are consulted (saith Seneca) their answers are receiv'd and stood to, although they come accompanied with no reasons. And ought not this much more to have place in the Law it self? which should be accepted*

(g) *as a voice from God, that should command and not dispute. Whereunto that observation of Plutarch also might be added, that*

(h) *mens laws carry not with them alwayes an apparent reason of the things commanded in them; but may oftentimes seem ridiculous and absurd to him that knoweth not the mind of the Law-giver; nor the cause why those laws at first were written: together with that smart saying of S. Augustin, (i) Think rather what course you are to take with those who will not obey, and how to handle them; then trouble your self to make it appear to them that their disobedience is a thing unlawful.*

tarch. in lib. de his qui serò à numine puniuntur. (i) *Magis quid agas cum eis qui obtemperare nolunt cogitandum est, quam quemadmodum eis ostendas non licere quod faciant.* August. Epist. 73. ad Possid.

(f) *Jurisconsultorum valent responsa, etiam si ratio non redditur.* Senec. Epist. 94.

(g) *Velut dimissa Divinitus vox sit; jubeat, non disputet.* Id. ibid.

(h) *Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνθρώποι νόμους τιθεῖν, τὸ ὄλοντο ἀπλᾶς ἔχειν καὶ πάντοτε συνέμενον, ἀλλ' ἐνία καὶ δεκά νομίσαντες ἡμεῖς τῶν σωματίων. Et post, Καὶ ὅπως πολλὰς αὖ πάλιν ἐξείποι νόμων ἀπείρας, μήτε τ' ἄλλοι ἔχον τὸ νομοθετεῖν, μήτε πλεονεχέειν τῶν νόμων. Plutarch.*

(i) *Magis quid agas cum eis qui obtemperare nolunt cogitandum est, quam quemadmodum eis ostendas non licere quod faciant.* August. Epist. 73. ad Possid.

Nay for the preventing of these scrupulous questionings of the commands of our Superiours, and the curious enquiries into the reasons of them; the Spirit of God requires our obedience, not in *some* thing only (which we shall judge to be fitting in our own fancy) but indefinitely in *all*. For so do his precepts

(k) Ephes. 5. 24. run, (k) *Let wives be subject to their own husbands in EVERY thing.* (l) *Children, obey your Parents in ALL things.* (m) *Servants, obey in ALL things your Masters.*

(l) Colos. 3. 20. Agreeable whereunto is that profession, made by the Israelites unto Joshua their Prince,

(n) Josh. 1. 16, (n) *ALL that thou commandest us we will do; and whithersoever thou sendest us we will go: according as we hearkned unto Moses in ALL things, so will we hearken unto thee.*

To which rules so general we may not add any other exception, but that wherewith the Apostle qualifyeth a like precept of our peace-

(o) Rom. 12. 18. able carriage toward all, (o) *If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.* This going also for a currant Rule in the Civil Law, that (p) *Impossibilium nulla*

(q) *Nemo potest, obligatio est:* (q) and in the Canon, *Nemo potest ad impossibile obligari.*

Now among such things as *can not be done* are reckoned, not only those which are in their own nature impossible, (as that a man should pull down the Moon) or in respect of

of ones particular condition fall to be such, (as to pay a greater sum of money then his ability or credit can reach unto :) but those also that are repugnant to the Law of God and the known rules of piety and honesty. (r) *Let one do for the temporal preservation of men, faith S. Augustin, what he is able. But when the matter is come to this passe that he cannot procure this preservation oitherwise then by committing a sin, let him then think he CAN do nothing, when he shall see there is nothing left to do, but that which he cannot do with a good conscience.* This passage is put by Gratian into the Decret. where thus the Glosse speaketh, (s) *That only we are thought we can do, which we can justly do:* And the Glosse upon the Regula in VI. in a like expression, (t) *So much it is esteemed we can do, as we can do lawfully.* Papinian in the Civil law more fully to the same effect, (u) *Such acts as wrong our piety, reputation, modesty, and (to speak generally) are done against good manners, it is not to be believed that we are able to do them.*

(r) Faciat homo etiā pro temporali hominum salute, quod potest. Cū autem ad hunc articulum ventum fuerit, ut tali saluti consulere, nisi peccando, non possit, jam se existimet non habere quid faciat, quando id reliquum esse perspexerit quod non recte faciat. Augustin. lib. contra mendacium. cap. 7.

(s) Ex hoc cap. habes, quod solum illud dicimur posse facere, quod iuste facere possumus. Gloss. 22. quæst. 2. c. Faciat. (t) *Id dicimur posse, quod de jure possumus.* Gloss. de Regul. jur. 68. in VI. (u) *Quæ facta laedunt pietatem, existimationem, verecundiam nostram, & (ut generaliter dixerim) contra bonos mores sunt, nec facere nos posse credendum est.* L. Filius. D. de condit. instituitur.

Yea the same Word of God which commandeth Wives and Children to be subject to their Husbands and Parents in ALL things,

The Obedience of the Subject.

- omitteth not elsewhere to add hereunto this necessary limitation, (x) *Children, obey your*
- (x) Ephes. 6. 1. *Parents in the Lord.* (y) *Wives, submit your selves unto your own husbands, as it is fit, in*
- (y) Colos. 3. 18. *the Lord: and for the general, (z) Submit your selves one to another, in the fear of God.* Whereupon when *Pharaoh* had given order for the killing of the male-children of the *Hebrews*, we find this commendation given to the Pa-
- (z) Ephes. 5. 21. *rents of Moses, that they were (a) not afraid of the Kings Commandement; and to the*
- (a) Heb. 11. 23. *Hebrew Midwives, that they (b) feared God, and did not as the King commanded them, but saved the men-children alive.* Which is con-
- (b) Exod. 1. 17. *sonant to that precept of our Saviour, (c) Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.* To which we may refer what *S. Augustin* hath by way of Dialogue between the *Pagan Emperour* and the *Christian Subject*;
- (c) Mat. 10. 28. *(d) Pay me my tribute, shew me thy obedience. Willingly: but not in the temple of Idols: there I am forbidden to do it. Who forbids thee? A power far greater then yours. Be pleased therefore to excuse me. You threaten to cast me into Prison, he into Hell.*
- (d) *Solve tributum, esto mihi in obsequium. Reclé: sed non in idolo. In idolo prohibet. Quis prohibet? Major potestas. Da veniam: tu carcerem, ille gehennam minatur.* August. de verbis Domini, Sermon. 6.

Hence come those restrictions in this kind
which

which we meet withall in others of the ancients : as in the Constitutions attributed to

Clement, (e) Be subject to every King and Governour, in such things wherein God is pleased :

and in the Epistle to the *Antiochians*, fathered upon *Ignatius*, (f) *Be subject unto Caesar, in such things wherein your subjection may be without danger :* and in that speech which

Polycarpus uttered unto the Proconsul of *Asia*, immediately before his Martyrdome,

(g) *We are taught to give unto Principalties and Powers, ordained by God, such honour as befitte them, and doth not hurt us.* Whereunto you may adde, if you please,

that passage of *Tertullian*, (h) *As touching the honours due to Kings or Emperours, we have it sufficiently prescribed, that in all obedience we ought (according to the precept of the Apostle) to be subject unto Magistrates, Princes and Powers : but within the bounds of discipline, so far forth as we may separate our selves from Idolatry : and the rule*

(e) Πάσιν βασιλείς καὶ ἀρχαῖς ὑπακούετε, ἐν τοῖς ἀρέσκει Θεῷ. Const. Apost. l. 4. c. 12.

(f) Τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπατάγετε, ἐν τοῖς ἀνένδυνον ἢ ὑπατάγῃ. Epist. ad Antiochen.

(g) Διδάσκοντες ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ἀπὸ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναις πᾶσι καὶ τὸ προσήκον, τὸ μὴ βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς ὑπομένειν. Epist. Eccles. Smyrnens. apud Euseb. lib. 4. Hist. Eccl. κεφ. 13. (cap. 14.)

(h) Quod attinet ad honores Regum vel Imperatorum, satis prescriptum habemus, in omni obsequio nos esse oportere, secundum Apostoli præceptum, subditos magistratibus & principibus, & potestatibus : sed intra limites disciplinae, quousq; ab idololatria separamur. Tertull. de Idololat. cap. 15.

(i) Ὅτι δὲ ἔστιν of S. Basil, (i) that we ought to be subject to
 αἱ αὐτὲς ὑπερέχουσιν the higher powers in such things as Gods
 ὑποτάσσονται, ἐν command hinders not.
 οἷς ἂν ἐντολὴ Θεοῦ
 μὴ ἐμποδίζῃ. Basil. in Ethicis, Regul. 79.

This distinction therefore must necessarily be made in the divers commands of Princes: that some are of such things as may and ought to be done, others of such as can not or ought not to be done. The former are of two sorts: either such as God hath tyed us unto before, whether the Prince had enjoyn'd them or not, or such as otherwise being of a middle and indifferent nature, the Prince (for reasons best

(k) Cum bonum jubent Imperatores, per illos non jubet nisi Christus. Augustin. Epist. 166.

(l) Quicumque autem legibus Imperatorum, quæ pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtemperare non vult, acquirit grande supplicium. Id. Epist. 50.

(m) Quando autem Imperatores veritatem tenent, pro ipsa veritate contra errorem jubet: quod quisquis contempserit, ipse sibi iudicium acquirit. Nam & inter homines poenas luit, & apud Deum sortem non habebit; quia hoc facere noluit quod ei per cor Regis ipsa veritas iussit. Id. Epist. 166.

known to himself) thinks fit to interpose his authority in. Of the one whereof S. Augustin writeth thus, (k) When Emperours command that which is good, it is Christ and none else that commandeth by them: and (l) whosoever will not obey the laws made by them for Gods truth, incurreth a grievous judgement. Which elsewhere also he thus specifieth, in a larger manner, (m) When Emperours do profess the truth, they command for truth against error: and whosoever contemneth their

their commands, purchaseth to himself condemnation. For he shall both suffer punishment among men, and shall have no part with God; because he would not do that which Truth itself by the Kings heart commanded him to do. To the other we may refer that of the same Father, (n) It is lawful for a King, in the Commonwealth where he reigneth, to command what neither any man before him nor he himself before did command: and yet are not the liberties of the State impeached by obeying, but rather by not obeying the same: and that likewise of Bernard, (o) There are things of a middle nature, which in themselves are neither good nor evil: yet may indifferently, both well and ill, either be forbidden or commanded; but neither by the Subjects be ill obeyed.

(n) Regi licet in civitate cui regnat, jubere aliquid, quod neque ante illum quisquam, nec ipse unquam jussit: & non contra societatem civitatis ejus obtemperatur, imò contra societatem non obtemperatur. Id. lib. 3. Confess. cap. 8.

(o) Sunt media, quæ quidem per se nec bona esse noscuntur nec mala: possunt tamen indifferenter, & bene pariter & malè, vel prohiberi vel juberi; sed malè nullatenus in his à subditis obediri. Bernard. Epist. 7.

But how are Subjects to carry themselves, when such things are enjoyn'd as can not or ought not to be done? Surely not to accuse the commander, but humbly to avoid the command; as (p) Gratian would have us do if our Prelates should go about

(p) Non hoc exemplo probantur Prelati accusandi à subditis: sed forma tantum datur humiliter remittendi Prelatis, si foris eos ad malum cogere voluerint. 2. qu. 7. C. Nos si incompetenter.

to constrain us unto evil: or, as some of the Heathen have more fully express'd

(q) *Sed ea tamen, qua obsequi non oportet, leniter & verecundè, ac sine detestatione nimia, sineq; opprobatione acerba reprehensivis, declinanda sensim & relinquenda esse dicunt quàm respondere.* A. Gell. lib. 2. c. 7.

it, (q) *Even those commands which we ought not to obey, mildly and modestly, without too great detestation, and without any bitterness of upbraiding or of reproof, are to be declined gently, and rather as it were omitted then rejected.* And,

when nothing else will serve the turn, as in things that may be done we are to express our submission by *active*, so in things that cannot be done we are to declare the same by *passive* obedience, without resistance and repugnancy: such a kind of suffering being as sure a sign of subjection, as any thing else whatsoever.

When *Pharaoh* imposed an impossible task upon the *Israelites*, that they should get them straw where they could finde it, and yet make up every day the same tale of bricks which they had done formerly when they had straw given to them: their officers could not escape *beating*, for all the unreasonableness of that exaction. (r) *And the officers of the Children of Israel, saith the Text, did see they were in evill case, after it was said, Ye shall not minish ought from your bricks of your daily task.* In this so evill a case, where *active* obedience could in no wise be performed,

performed, *passive* must serve the turn. So when *Darius* was drawn to sign that ungodly decree, that *whosoever should ask a petition of any God or man for thirty dayes, save of the King, he should be cast into the den of Lions*; *Daniel*, being none of those who would (s) *chuse iniquity rather then affliction*, made (s) Job 36. 21. no scruple at all (t) *to kneel upon his knees* (t) Dan. 6. 10. *three times a day, and to pray and give thanks before his God, as he did aforetime*: and when afterward, (u) *through faith he had stopped the* (u) Heb. 11. 33. *mouths of the Lyons*, out of the bottom of that den he was able to say with a clear conscience, (x) *Before my God innocency was found* (x) Dan. 6. 22. *in me; and also before thee, ô King, have I done no hurt.*

He that consults with flesh and bloud, will hardly be induced to admit this doctrine of passive obedience: and therefore if he will learn this lesson, he must make choice of better Masters; and listen in the first place to the advice of *Solomon*, (y) *Trust in the* (y) Prov. 3. 5. *Lord with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own understanding*: and to that oracle of the Son of God himself, (z) *If any man* (z) Mat. 16. 24. *will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his crosse, and follow me.* Then must he raise up his thoughts to the height of that Beatitude, which our Saviours own mouth hath given assurance of to all such as will be ruled by him herein, (a) *Blessed are* (a) Mat. 5. 10, 11, 12. *they*

they which are persecuted for righteousness sake : for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are you when men shall revile you , and persecute you , and shall say all manner of evill against you falsely for my sake. Rejoyce & be exceeding glad ; for great is your reward in heaven : for so persecuted they the Prophets which were before you. Where, for the recompence of the reward, he is to weigh with S. Paul

- (b) 2 Cor. 4. 17. *how (b) our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory : and for the precedent of the Prophets, to give ear unto that*
- (c) Jam. 5. 10. *exhortation of S. James, (c) Take, my brethren, the Prophets who have spoken in the name of the Lord, for an example of suffering affliction , and of patience : and withall to*
- (d) Heb. 12. 1. *cast his eye not only upon that (d) great cloud of witnesses in the time of the Old Testament, of whom some (e) were tortured, not*
- (e) Heb. 11. 35, 36, 37. *accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection ; others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, of bonds and imprisonment, were stoned, were sawne asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword, &c. but also upon that innumerable company of Confessors and Martyrs in the time of the New :*
- (f) Heb. 10. 32, 33, 34. *the former of whom (f) after they were illuminated, endured a great fight of afflictions, partly whilst they were made a gazing stock, both by reproaches and afflictions, and partly whilst they became companions of them that were*

were so used, and took joyfully the spoyling of their goods, knowing that they had in heaven a better and an enduring substance: the other (g) loved not their lives unto the death, but (g) Rev. 12. 11. laid down their (h) heads for the witness of (h) Rev. 20. 4. Jesus, and by that glorious (i) death of theirs (i) Joh. 21. 19. glorified God.

But above all we are to (k) look unto (k) Heb. 12. 2, 3. Jesus himself, the author and finisher of our faith: who for the joy that was set before him, endured the crosse, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God. With which highest example (of him, who (l) thought it no robbery to be equal unto God, (l) Phil. 2. 6, 8. and yet humbled himself and became obedient unto the death, even the death of the crosse) S. Peter closeth up those (m) forcible words of (m) Job 6. 25. his, wherewith he thus presseth the performance of this passive obedience whereof now we speak, (n) This is thank-worthy if a man (n) 1 Per. 2. 19, 20, &c. for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it if when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For even hereunto were ye called; because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps: Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatned

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not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously.

But those stiffe spirits, that will not stoop unto this passive kinde of obedience (if they can help it) think they have stricken the matter dead by proposing this case unto us : Suppose, say they, *the King should command us to worship the Devil. Would you wish us here to lay down our heads upon the block ; and not give us leave to stand upon our guard, and to the utmost of our power repel the violence of such a miscreant ? If not, what would become of Gods Church, and his Religion ?* As if this had been a new case, never heard of before : and the Apostle had not sufficiently declared unto us, that (o) *the things which the Gentiles sacrificed, they sacrificed to Devils and not to God.* And yet when this Devil-worship was so vehemently urg'd by the cruel Edicts of the persecuting Emperours, did the Christians ever take armes against them for the matter ? or betook themselves to any other refuge but fervent prayers unto Almighty God (whom they acknowledged to be their *Princes* only superiour) and patient suffering of what disgrace or punishment soever should be imposed upon them ? To the cheerful undergoing whereof see how *S. Peter*, in that forecited Epistle, doth animate and encourage them : (p) *Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial, which is to try you, as though*

(o) 1 Cor. 10. 20.

(p) 1 Pet. 4. 12,

13, &c.

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though some strange thing happened to you. But rejoyce in as much as ye are partakers of Christs sufferings ; that when his glory shall be reveal'd, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye ; for the spirit of glory and of God resteth on you : who on their part is evil spoken, but on your part he is glorified. But let none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil-doer, or as a busie-body in other mens matters. Yet if any suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed ; but let him glorifie God on this behalf.

Lo, (q) there is the patience of the Saints : (q) Rev. 14. 12. here are they that keep the commandements of God, and the faith of Jesus. Here are they that stuck not to (r) resist unto blood, striving (r) Heb. 12. 4. against sin : and yet make conscience of resisting the power of their Prince ; as having learned, that their obedience to God might well stand with their subjection to the authority placed by him in Man. Whereby so far off was it that (s) the gates of Hell (or (s) Mat. 16. 18. Death) did prevail against the Church, that the blood of this noble army of Martyrs became the fruitful seminary thereof. For (t) the Christian faith, for many ages together, being distressed every way by Nations, Kings, laws, slaughters, crosses

(t) Christiana fides per multa retro secula, saevientibus undiq; adversum se gentibus, Regibus, legibus, cadibus, crucibus ac mortibus, reprimi nullo modo potuit ; imò inter hæc & per hæc crevit. P. Oros. Histor. l. 6. c. 1.

and

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and deaths, and yet be no manner of way repress'd; yea in the midst of these, and by the means of these, it grew, saith Paulus Oro-

(u) *Fremuit mundus, erexit se leo adversus agnum: sed fortior leone inventus est agnus. Leo victus est sciendo, agnus vicit patiendo.* Augustin. in Psal. 149. (u) The world raged, saith S. Augustin, the Lion lifted himself up against the Lamb, but the Lamb was found stronger then the Lion. The Lion was overcome by shewing cruelty, the Lamb did overcome by suffering. And S. Hierome, (x) By shedding of blood, and by suffering rather then doing injuries, was the Church of Christ at first founded: it grew by persecutions, and by martydomes was crown'd.

(x) *Fundendo sanguinem, & patiendo magis quam faciendo contumelias, Christi fundata est Ecclesia: persecutionibus crevit, Martyriis coronata est.* Hieron. adversus errores Johan. Hierosol. Epist. 62.

But if mens hands be thus tyed, will some say, no mans state can be secure: nay the whole frame of the Common-wealth would be in danger to be subverted and utterly ruin'd by the unbridled lust of a distemper'd Governour.

I answer, Gods word is clear in the point,

(y) Rom. 13.2,5. (y) *Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation: and thereby a necessity is imposed upon us of being subject, even for conscience sake; which may not be avoided by the pretext of any ensuing mischief whatsoever. For by this means we should have liberty given unto us to* (z) *Speak evill of the*

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the law, and to judge the law. But if thou judge the law, thou art not a doer of the law, but a judge, saith S. James. It becomes us in obedience to perform our part; and leave the ordering of events to God, whose part only that is.

Again, the ground of this objection is exceeding faulty; and standeth not with the rules of *Humanity* or *Divinity*, either of found *Policy* or true *Piety*. For in the one, who of us have not heard of that common Rule of our Common law, that a *mischief* is *better then an inconvenience*? Not that our Common Lawyers were so void of common understanding, as to imagine that a *mischief*, in it self formally considered, should be prefer'd before an *inconvenience*: but that an inconvenience, the consequence whereof would reach unto the general, should much more be prevented then any mischief which might fall out in any particular case, or tend to the greatest detriment of any person individual.

Thus, for the determining of matters of fact, and the judgement depending thereupon, the Law established by God himself is this, (a) *At the mouth of two witnesses, or three witnesses, shall he that is worthy of death be put to death.* By the subordination of false witnesses it falleth out here that (b) *Naboth,* who

(a) Deut. 17.6.

(b) 1 King. 21.
17.

who is not worthy of death, is yet put to death. The shedding of innocent blood, a very great mischief in that particular; but yet was to be given way unto, rather than the inconvenience should be admitted in the general, that nothing should be determined upon the testimony of two witnesses. So in the defining of matters of *right*, sometimes it so falleth out, that by the unskilfulness, negligence or corruption of the Judge, the cause of the righteous is overthrown, and judgement quite perverted: and yet is he, notwithstanding his miscarriage in such particulars, accounted

- (c) Psal. 82. 1, 2, 5, 6. still in the number of (c) *the Gods*; and his Tribunal graced with the honourable title of (d) *the place of judgement and the place of righteousness*. And therefore; as our Saviour speaketh in the former case, (e) *It is written in your law, that the testimony of two men is true*, that is, (as the former words of (f) Deut. 19. 15. the law it self have it) (f) *at the mouth of two witnesses is the matter to be established*: so in this other it goeth for a Rule in the Civil law; that (g) *a thing adjudged is accepted for truth*: especially if it be freely, and without all colour of surreption, so adjudged by the Prince, whose (h) *sentence is presumed alwayes to be just*, and therefore not to be appeal'd from. For if things should.

(g) *Res judicata pro veritate accipitur*. Ulpian. in D. l. 207. de Regul. juris. & l. Ingenuum, de statu hom.

(h) *Principis sententia presumitur semper justa: unde ab eo non appellatur*. Cynus in l. Rescripta, Cod. de precib. Imper. offere.

should not be thus ended by the last sentence of the highest Judge, this intolerable inconvenience would ensue thereupon in the general matter of judicature, that strifes would prove infinite, suits immortal, and all controversies indeterminable. To which purpose

also *Aeneas Silvius* writeth thus, (i) *Although sometime iniquity and unjust judgement do proceed from the highest tribunal; yet must not a place therefore be given unto an appeal; seeing there is no judge that may examine the temporal acts of the Emperour. Besides it is more profitable to the Commonwealth for the extinguishing of strifes, that the benefit of an appeal should be denied unto a few that are unjustly oppressed, then that the gates of complaints should be opened unto many that shall calumniate, after they have been justly condemned: seeing they are exceeding rare who will account themselves to have been justly condemned: and the lesser evill is alwayes to be tolerated, that the greater may be avoided. Surely where it is alwayes lawful to appeal, there also are found strifes without end; there are enmities, there are new scandals every day.*

(i) *Quamvis à summo folio nunquam procedat iniquitas, injustumq; judicium prodeat; non tamen idcirco locus est appellacioni, cum nemo sit judex qui temporalia Caesaris facta valeat examinare. Utilius insuper est Republica ad extinguendas lites, paucis injustè oppressis appellacionis beneficium denegari, quàm multis calumniantibus, postquam justè damnati fuerint, querelarum januas aperire: cum rarissimi sint qui se justè repñent condemnatos; semperq; minus malum tolerandũ sit, ut evitetur majus. Nempe ubi licitum est appellare, ibi quoq; lites sine fine reperiuntur; ubi sunt inimicitiae, ibi contentiones, ibi nova dietim scandala. Æn. Silv. de ortu & authorit. Imperii, cap. 23.*

When, (k) out of a discomfited army, every tenth souldier is beaten with a cudgel, the lot falleth also upon the

(k) *Ex fuso exercitu cum decimus quisq; fuste feritur, etiam strenui fortissimè. Habet aliquid ex iniquo omne magnum exemplum; quod contra singulos, utilitate publicâ rependitur. Tacit. Annal. lib. 14.*

valiant. Every such great exemplary punishment hath somewhat that is unjust in it; which being in particular to the prejudice of some, is yet recompens'd by the general profit of the whole, saith *Cassius*, in

Tacitus: and *Tully*, speaking of the office of the plebeian Tribunes, (l) *I confesse*, saith he, that there is some evill in that government; but the good which is sought in it we could not have without that evill. And it is the part of a prudent man in matters of this nature to consider as well

(l) *Ego fateor in ista potestate inesse quiddam mali: sed bonum quod quaesitum est in eas sine isto malo non haberemus. Cicer. lib. de Legib.*

the inconveniences of the one side as the conveniences of the other, and wisely to compare together the mischiefs that are like to break out on either side; and especially to take care that the remedy which is thought upon, do not in the end prove far worse then the disease for the helping whereof it was provided. As in the particular now in hand; that the people may oppose their Kings, and withstand them even with arms, when they conceive the courses taken by them do tend to the dishonour of God or the great detri-

detriment of the Common-wealth, may seem to vulgar minds (that look after nothing so much as their own liberty) to be a matter that standeth with very great reason: while in the time they take no notice at all of the high mischiefs rather then ordinary inconveniences, which are inseparable companions of such a desperate combination.

For what greater (m) disorder can fall out among men, then to make the Inferiour overrule the Superiour, the Subject the Prince? Whereas Solomon might have taught such, that * *delight is not seemly for a fool; much lesse for a servant to have rule over Princes.*

Besides, what more unreasonable thing can be thought upon, then to allow Subjects to be *Accusers*, and *Judges*, and *Executioners* too, and that in their own cause, and against their own Sovereign?

whereas one (n) denied it to be fit that the *Emperour* himself should be admitted to be an *Accuser*; considering that by all *laws of God and Man* none may be both an *Accuser* and a *Judge*. Again, what greater madness can there be,

then to seek the preservation of the Common-wealth by making a rent therein, and

(m) * *Ἀνὴρ πολυκαὶ ἐστὶν χαρπὸν ταῖα.*

*Καὶ δίκην, καὶ πάντα πάλιν σφέ-
τεται.*

Euripid. in Medea.

(*) Proverb. 19. 10.

(n) *Taceo quòd Imperatorem accusatorem esse non conveniat. postremo, iisdem divinis humanisq; legibus nemo possit esse accusator & iudex.* Symmach. P. Apologet. advers. Anastas. Imp.

embroyling it in a Civil war? then which no speedier means could have been devised to bring it unto utter ruine and desolation.

- (o) Mar. 3. 24. For we know who hath said, (o) *If a kingdome be divided against it self, that kingdome cannot stand*: and it is a folly to imagine, that when the Subjects have once betaken themselves unto arms, the King will look on, and be content to sit still by the losse. (p) *Arms are irritated by arms*, saith one, and (q) *if my kingdom were of this world*, saith our Saviour, *then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews*.
- (p) *Arma armis irritantur*. Plin. Panegy. ad Trajan.
- (q) Joh. 18. 36.

The King (you may be sure) will not want his party to joyn with him: and if he should be put unto any straight at home, this would but drive him to supply himself with auxiliary forces from abroad: this being found true (r) by experience,

(r) *Hoc jam ferè sic fieri solere accepimus, ut Regum afflicta fortuna facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeq; eorum qui aut Reges sunt, aut vivunt in regno; quod Regale iis nomen magnum & sanctum esse videatur*. Cicer. Orat. pro lege Manil.

(as Tully observeth) that the afflicted states of Kings do easily draw the helps of many unto pity, and especially of them who are either Kings themselves, or do live in a Kingdom; the Regal name being by them esteem'd to be great and sacred.

Which how ready a way 'it is to subvert the state of any such distracted Kingdom, and to bring it under the subjection of forainers, we need not seek further for proof

proof then from our own *Ireland*. For (s) when one of the petit Kings of this Nation was by domestical diffension driven out of his country, *Julius Agricola* receiv'd him indeed under the colour of courtesie and friendship, but retain'd him only till occasion should serve, that he might use this as a means to subdue the whole Island unto the *Romane* Government. And howsoever that project then fail'd, by the recalling of *Agricola* unto *Rome* from his Lieutenanship in *Brittany*; yet afterward when, upon a like occasion, *Dermot* King of *Lemster* was forced by his rebellious subjects to crave the aid of King *Henry II.* for the restoring of him to his Kingdom, this association produced that effect which now we see, that the *Irish* lost their dominion, and became subject to the Crown of *England* even until this day.

(s) *Agricola* expulsum seditione domestica unum ex Regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitie in occasionem retinebat. Corn. Tacit. in vita *Agricolæ*.

Nay to turn our eyes unto *Rome* it self, and to passe by that known (r) Ode of (r) *Epod. lib. Oct. Horaces*, touching the effect of the Civil wars there,

*Altera jam teritur bellis civilibus atas,
Suis & ipsa Roma viribus ruit.
Quam neq; finitimi valuerunt perdere Marfi,
Minacis aut Hetrusca Porsena manus, &c.*

that of *Salust* (or some other not much inferior to him) unto *Julius Caesar*, a little before the

the changing of that state into a Monarchy, is worth our consideration, (u) This is my

(u) *Ego sic existimo; quoniam orta omnia intereunt, quâ tempestate urbi Romana fatum excidii adventarit, cives cum civibus manus confecturos: ita defesos & exsanguis, Regi aut nationi præda futuros. Aliter non orbis terrarum, neq; cuncta gentes conglobatas, movere aut contundere queunt hoc imperium. Firmanda igitur sunt concordia bona, & discordia mala expellenda. Sallust. Orat. i. de republ. ordinand. ad C. Cæsarem.*

(x) *Hic casus Romana pacis exitium erit; hic tanti fortunam populi in ruinas aget. Tandem ab isto periculo aberit hic populus, quamdiu sciet ferre franos: quos si quando abruperit, vel aliquo casu discussos reponi sibi passus non erit; hac unitas & hic maximi imperii contextus in partes multas dissiliet; idemq; huic urbi dominandi finis erit qui parendi fuerit, &c. Olim enim ita se induit Reipubl. Cæsar, ut diduci alteram non possit sine utriusq; perniciæ. Nam ut illi viribus opus est, ita & huic capite. Senec. de Clementia l. i. c. 4.*

opinion: seeing all things that have a beginning must have an end, whensoever that fatal time of the destruction of the Roman City shall come, that Citizens will fight with Citizens, and so having wearied themselves and lost their blood, will fall to be a prey unto some King or nation. Otherwise neither the whole world, nor all the nations gathered into one heap, are able to move or quash this Empire: and much more that prognostique of Seneca, delivered not long after that the Monarchy had been founded there by Cæsar; wherein he declareth that the denying of obedience unto that Monarch would prove the undoing of that mighty Empire. (x) Such an accident as this, saith he, will be the bane of the Roman peace; it will bring the fortunes of so great a people unto utter ruine. So long shall this people be free from that danger, as long as it knoweth how to endure the reins: which if at any time it shall break, or, when

when shaken off by any chance, it shall not suffer to be put on again, the union and contexture of this high Empire will fall in pieces, and the dominion of this City will expire together with her obedience. For Cæsar heretofore did so embosom and enweave himself into the Commonwealth, that the one cannot be disjoyn'd from the other without the destruction of them both: for as he hath need of forces, so have they of a Head.

But

(y) *O curvæ in terras anima & cælestium inanes!*

(y) Pers. Satyr. 2.
& ex eo Lactant.
Div. institut. l. 2.

Have we not read that which was spoken unto us by God? (z) *The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoyce: let the many (or great) ISLES (whereof we are) be glad thereof: or must we yet be turn'd a grazing with Nebuchadnezzar, untill we have learn'd his lesson? (a) that the most high God ruleth in the kingdom of men, and that he appointeth over it whomsoever he will.* For the fuller declaration whereof, it will not be amiss to consider, first, How God doth appoint men over Kingdoms according to his own pleasure; and then, How he doth rule in and with them therein. Touching the first, we may observe, that God doth sometime give a
Y King

c. 2.

(z) Psal. 97. 1.

(a) Dan. 5. 21. & 4. 17, 25, 32.

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- King unto a people out of love, sometime out of anger. (b) *Because the Lord loved Israel for ever, therefore made he thee King, to do judgement and justice, saith the Queen of Sheba to Salomon.* And on the other side, (c) *I gave thee a King in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath, saith the Lord himself, by the mouth of his prophet Hosea.* Whereby we are further also given to understand, that Gods *wrath* may shew it self in the taking away of a King, as well as his *anger* in giving him: his *wrath*, I say, not against the King himself alone (as it fell out in the case of (d) *Saul*) but even against the people also, as it appeareth by that acknowledgement of theirs, which went before in the same Prophet, (e) *We have no King, because we feared not the Lord:* and by a more strange effect of his *wrath* against them, in permitting good Kings sometimes to take evill courses for their punishment; according to that which we finde recorded in Scripture, (f) *And again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel; and David was moved (by Satan) against them, to say, Go number Israel and Judah: even that David, to whom God had given this testimony,* (g) *I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will.*
- (b) 1 King. 10. 9.
- (c) Hos. 13. 11.
- (d) 1 Chron. 10. 13, 14.
- (e) Hos. 10. 3.
- (f) 2 Sam. 24. 1. with 1 Chron. 21. 1.
- (g) A&A. 13. 22.

God, saith S. Augustin, (h) giveth blisse in (h) Dat felicitate the Kingdom of heaven to the godly alone, but tem in regno cælo- this earthly Kingdom both to the godly and un- rum solis piis, reg- godly, as it pleaseth him, whom nothing un- num verò terre- justly can please. He that gave the Govern- num & piis & ment to Marius, gave it to Cæsar; he who gave impiis; sicut ei placet cui nihil it to Augustus, gave it also to Nero; he who injustè placet, &c. gave it to the Vespasians (father and son) most Qui Mario, ipse sweet and loved Emperours, gave it likewise to Cæsar; qui that man of cruelty, Domitian: and (not to re- Augustor ipse & count the rest of them) he who gave it to that Neroni; qui Vespasianis, vel patri Christian Prince Constantine, gave it to that vel filio, suavif- wreich Julian the Apostate. These things simis Imperatori- without doubt that one and that true God bus, ipse & Demi- doth rule and govern as he pleaseth, by tiano crudelissimo: causes, although hidden, yet not unjust. And & (nè per singu- los ire necesse sit) this lesson hath been generally taught by qui Constantino (i) Ireneus, (k) Origen, (l) Synesius, Christiano, ipse apostate Juliano.

Hac planè Deus unus & verus regit & gubernat, ut placet. Et si occultis causis, numquid injustis? August. de civit. Dei, l. 5. c. 21.

(i) Quidam illorum ad correctionem & utilitatem subjeetorum dantur, & conservationem justitiæ; quidam autem ad timorem, & pœnam, & increpationem; quidem autem ad illusionem, & contumeliam, & superbiam, quemadmodum & digni sunt: Dei justo judicio in omnibus aequaliter superveniente. Ireneus. l. 5. c. 24.

(k) Non semper Princeps populi & Ecclesiæ judex per Dei arbitrium datur; sed prout merita nostra deposcunt. Si mali sunt actus nostri, & operamur malignum in conspectu Domini, dantur nobis Principes secundum cor nostrum. Origen. in lib. Judic. Homil. 4.

(l) Οταν δὲ τῶν κολασῶν [ὁ Θεός] χεῖρ τῶν μὲν εἶναι βαρβάρων, τῶν δὲ ἀρχόντων ποιεῖ. Synes. Epist. 57.

(m) *Cum vult* (m) *Theodoret*, (n) *Olympiodorus*, (o) *Ana-*
stasius Sinaita, (p) *Gregory*, (q) *Isidore*,
 eos qui peccant and others of the ancient (to speak nothing
 castigare, eos
 etiam à malis
Magistratibus regi permittit. Theodoret. in Rom. 13.

(n) Πολλοὶς τῶ χρίματι φανόμενον ἀγαθὸν συγχωρεῖ εἰς βασιλεῖα ἀναγο-
 ρηθῆναι ἐφ' ᾧ κακωθῆναι βέλεται· οὗ αὐτὸς τὸς ἰσχυροὺς διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ δύσκολιαν καὶ
 κακοπερίαν. *Olympiodor. in Job. (apud Anastas. Sinait. quæst. 16. pag.*
186. Edit. Græco-Lat. Ingolstadt. Jac. Gretseri: conferend. cum pag. 508.
Catenæ Græco-Lat. in Job. Edit. Patr. Junii.)

(o) Τὸ Θεὸς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λέγοντι, Δώσω ὑμῖν ἀρχοντας καὶ τὰς καρδίας
 ὑμῶν, ἀδελφὸν ἐπ' οὗ καὶ τῶ ἀρχόντων καὶ βασιλέων ὡς ἀξιοὶ τ' ποιούτης πρῆξις
 καὶ Θεὸς περχειζον· οἱ δὲ πάλιν ἀνάξιοι οὗτοι περὶ τ' ἀξίων λαδὼν τ' αὐτοῦ
 ἀναξιώτητες, καὶ Θεὸς συγχώρησιν ἢ βέλησιν, περχειζον. *Anastas. quæst.*
16. init.

(p) *Quid ergò illos in nobis præesse despiciamus, quorum super nos*
regimina ex Domini furore suscipimus. Si igitur, irascente Deo, secun-
dum nostra merita rectores accipimus, in illorum actione colligimus,
quid ex nostra aestimatione pensamus. Et paulò post, Sic ergò secundum
merita subditorum tribuuntur persona regentium; ut sape, qui viden-
tur boni, accepto regimine permulentur: sicut Scriptura sacra de Saule
intulit, quia cor cum dignitate mutavit. Gregor. Moral. in Job. lib.
34 c. 14.

(q) *Quo manifestius elucet, bonam malamq; potestatem à Deo ordi-*
nari: sed bonam propitio, malam irato. Reges quando boni sunt, mune-
ris est Dei: quando verò mali, sceleris est populi. Secundum enim me-
ritum plebium disponitur vita rectorum, testante Jobo, Qui regnare
facit hypocritam propter peccata populi (Job 34 30. juxta LXX)
Irascente enim Deo talem rectorem populi suscipiunt, qualem pro peccato
merentur. Nonnunquam pro malitia plebium etiam Reges mutantur,
et qui ante videbantur esse boni, accepto regno fiunt iniqui. Isidor. Hi-
spal. Sentent. l. 3. c. 48. qui locus laudatur etiam in Concilio Paris.
VI. l. 2. c. 1. (tomo 2. Concilior. Gallia pag. 529.) licet ibi per-
peram insertum sit lemma illud, Gregorius in Moralibus: cum in
cap. 5. (pag. 529.) rectis oppositum habeatur nomen Isidori.

of (r) *Aeneas Silvius*, and others of latter times) that according to the quality of the people God useth to fit them with Princes: and therefore, when either evill ones are placed over them, or in their progress they prove worse then they were at their beginning, they should turn their thoughts from the discontent they conceive against the present Government, unto the consideration of their own sins, and the wrath of God punishing the same by this means at which they do repine.

It being their duty rather in this case to (s) 1 Pet. 5. 6. (s) *humble themselves under the mighty hand of God*, saying with David, (t) *I was dumb*, I (r) Psal. 39. 9. *opened not my mouth, because thou didst it*: and with the Church, in the Prophet Micah, (u) *I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him*.

Touching the second, we may observe with S. *Augustin*, that (x) *the Almighty doth work in the hearts of men even the motion of their own will; that he may work by them that which he hath a minde to work, who knoweth not at all unjustly to will any thing*. Whereunto we may refer that which God

(r) *Deus saepe propter peccata subditorum depravari permittit vitam rectorum; Ex quo fit, ut ecculto Dei judicio apud Deum Justa nonnunquam reperiuntur, quae nobis videntur injusta. Aen. Silv. de orat. & author. Imp. c. 16.*

(x) *Agit omnipotens in cordibus hominum etiam motum voluntatis eorum; ut per eos agat quod per eos agere voluerit, qui omnia injuste aliquid velle non novit. Aug. de gracia & libero arbitrio. c. 22.*

- speaking concerning the King of Assyria ;
 (y) Isa. 10. 5, 6, 7. (y) *O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the staff in their hand is mine indignation. I will send him against an hypocritical nation ; and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets. Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so ; but it is in his heart to destroy, and cut off nations not a few.*
 (z) Ib. vers. 12. (z) *Wherefore it shall come to passe, that when the Lord hath perform'd his whole work upon mount Sion and on Ferusalem, I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the King of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks : and concerning the King of Babylon after him, (a) Israel is a scattered sheep, the lions have driven him away : first the King of Assyria hath devoured him, and last this Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon hath broken his bones. Therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Behold I will punish the King of Babylon and his land, as I have punish'd the King of Assyria.*
 (a) Jer. 15. 17, 18.

(b) Περίσδου γάρ
 ἃ ποιῶν πρὸ λόγου
 πρὸ Ἀσσυρίων, ὅς τιν'
 καρδίαν τῆ βασιλείας
 λέγει (ἃ λέγων)
 ἐν τῇ τῆ Θεοῦ πα-
 λάμῃ σφυροθεῖται.

Themistius, a Heathen Orator, (b) doth more then once commend this sentence, taken (as he saith) out of the writings of the Assyrians, that the Kings heart is kept in the hand of
Themist Orat. 5. 'Αλλ' ἐγὼ ποτε ὑπερδομῶν καὶ ἡδ' Ἀσσυρίων γεγραμμένων ταυτὸ τῷτο κομψομένον, ὡς ἀεὶ ὁ νῦν τῆ βασιλείας ἐν τῇ τῆ Θεοῦ παλάμῃ σφυροθεῖται. Id. in Orat. 9.

God:

God : by the *Assyrians*, in all probability, meaning the *Hebrews* : and that saying in their books, which *Gregory Nazianzen* thus citeth, That (c) the Kings heart is in the hand of God, is both said and believed. And so indeed was it said by the wisest of Kings, and so believed by all faithful

(c) Καρδία βασιλέως ἐν χειρὶ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐκρίται καὶ πεισθίζεται. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 27. (quæ in Latina Jo. Lewenklavii edit 12. est.)

people, (d) *The Kings heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water ; he turneth it whither soever he will.* For proof whereof we read in the book of *Ezra*, that (e) the Lord (e) *stirred up the Spirit of Cyrus King of Persia, that he made a Proclamation throughout all his kingdome, for the freeing of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity : that he (f) turn'd the heart of Darius unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, and that he (g) put in the heart of King Artaxerxes to beautifie the house of the Lord which is in Ferusalem.* And what a hand he hath in the restraining them from doing evill unto his servants, we may perceive by that speech which he useth unto *Abimelech King of Gerar, concerning Sarah the wife of Abraham, I withheld thee from sinning against me : therefore suffered I thee not to touch her.* As by that watchful eye which he had over our Head, all his poor members may gather this comfort ; that all the Potentates upon earth are not able to touch them, untill,

(d) Prov. 21. 1.

(e) Ezra 1. 1.

(f) chap. 6. 22.

(g) chap. 7. 27.

untill he give them power so to do ; and that, at such a time, and in such a place, and in such a measure, as he shall be pleased to limit them unto.

- The consideration hereof made the A-
- (i) Act. 4. 24, postles to (i) lift up their voice to God
 27, 28. *with one accord, and say, Of a truth against thy holy childe Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done. And our Lord Jesus himself here*
- (k) Luk. 13. 31, upon earth, (k) being warn'd by some
 33. *of the Pharisees to get him out of Galilee, because Herod would kill him; told them that he must walk to day and to morrow, and the day following, and that it could not be that a Prophet should perish out of Jerusalem: shewing that it lay not in the power of Herod to appoint either the time of his death, nor yet the place; which was not to be in Galilee, where his jurisdiction lay, but in Jerusalem, which was then in the power of Pilate the Roman Governour. And when Pilate himself did afterward insolently brag,*
- (1) Joh. 19. 10, that he (l) *had power to crucifie him, and had*
 11. *power to release him; he return'd him this answer again, Thou couldst have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above. Which S. Augustin compareth with*
 that

that other saying of the Apostle, (m) *There* (m) Rom. 13 1. *is no power but of God*: and out of both deduceth this conclusion, (n) *A man may have lust to hurt of his own: but power, if God do not give it, he hath none. For that there is no power but of God, is the definitive sentence of the Apostle. He did not say, There is no lust but of God; for there is an evill lust which is not of God: but because that evill lust can hurt no man if he do not permit, he saith, There is no power but of God. Whereupon God made man, standing before a man, said, Thou couldst have no power against me, except it were given thee from above. The one did judge, the other did teach. When he was judged he did teach: that he might judge those whom he did teach. Thou couldst have no power, saith he, against me, except it were given thee from above. What is this? Hath a man only no power, unless he receive it from above? What hath the Devill himself? Durst*

he take away as much as one sheep from the holy man Job, before he had first said, Put forth

Z

chine

(n) *Cupiditatem nocendi potest homo habere propriam: potestatem autem, si ille non dat, non habet. Non est enim potestas nisi à Deo: definita sententia Apostoli est. Non dixit, non est cupiditas nisi à Deo; est enim mala cupiditas, quæ non est à Deo: sed quia ipsa mala cupiditas nulli nocet, si ille non permittat, Non est, inquit, potestas nisi à Deo. Unde Deus homo stans ante hominem, Non haberes, inquit, in me potestatem, nisi data fuisset tibi desuper. Ille judicabat, ille docebat. Cum judicabatur docebat, ut judicaret quos docuerat. Non haberes, inquit, in me potestatem, nisi esset data tibi desuper. Quid est hoc? Homo tantum non habet potestatem, nisi cum acceperit desuper? Quid ipse Diabolus? Ausus est vel unam oviculam tollere viro sancto Job, nisi prius diceret, Mitte manum tuam, hoc est, da potestatem? Ille volebat, sed ille non sinebat. Quando ille permisit, ille potuit. Non ergo ille potuit, sed qui permisit. Augustin. in Psal. 32. Conc. 2.*

thine hand, that is, give me power? He had
 (o) *A quo sunt omnes potestates, quamvis ab illo non sint omnium voluntates.* Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 5. c. 8. *a will to do it, but God did not suffer him. When he did suffer him, the other was able to do it. It is not he therefore that was able, but he that permitted him: even God, (o) from whom are all powers; howsoever all mens wills are not from him.*

(p) *Non quicquid passi ab inimicis fuerimus, hoc inimicis deputandum est, & non Domino Deo nostro.* *To the same purpose the same Father writeth very excellently in an other place,*
 (p) *Not whatsoever we do suffer from our enemies, is to be imputed to our enemies, and not to*
Quandoquidem in ipso suo exemplo Mediator demonstravit, quando nobis desuper permittit homines nocere, non voluntatem nocendi desuper dari, sed potestatem. Unusquisq; enim malus apud se habet voluntatem nocendi: ut autem possit nocere, non habet in potestate. Ut velit, jam reus est: ut possit, occulta dispensatione providentia Divina, in alium permittitur ad pœnam, in alium permittitur ad probationem, in alium permittitur ad coronam. Ad pœnam: quomodo permissi sunt ἀλλόφρονες, id est, alienigenæ, capere populum Israel, quia peccaverunt in Deum. Ad probationem autem permissus est Diabolus in Job: probatus est autem Job, confusus est Diabolus. Ad coronam verò permissi sunt persecutores in Martyres. Occisi sunt Martyres; quasi vicisse se arbitrati sunt persecutores: illi in manifesto falso triumphaverunt, illi in occulto verè coronati sunt. Ergò in quem permittitur, occulta dispensationis est providentia Dei; ut autem velit nocere ipsius hominis est: non enim continù quem vult occidit. Itaq; ipse Dominus, iudex vivorum & mortuorum, stans ante hominem iudicem (præbens nobis humilitatis exemplum & patientia documentum; non victus, sed militibus pugnandi exemplum demonstrans) minanti iudici, tumentis superbiâ (& dicenti, Nescis quia potestatem habeo dimittendi & occidendi te?) abstulit typhum instantis, & tanquam reddens exufflationem quâ detumesceret, Non haberes, inquit, in me potestatem, nisi data tibi esset desuper. Augustin. Præfat. in enarrat. 2. Psalmi 29. Vide etiam eund. ad Simplicianum lib. 2. quæst. 1. (cum Retractat. l. 2. c. 1.)

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our Lord God: Forasmuch as our Mediatour even in his own example hath demonstrated unto us that, when he from above doth permit men to hurt us, not the will but the power of hurting is given from above. For every evill man hath in himself the will to hurt: but to have ability to hurt, he hath not in his power. In that he hath the will he is already guilty; but that he should have the ability, it is permitted by the hidden dispensation of Gods providence, toward some for punishment, toward some for trial, toward some for the obtaining a crown. For punishment: as the Philistines were permitted to subdue the people of Israel, because they had sinned against God. For tryal, the Devil was permitted to assault Job: but Job was tryed, the Devill confounded. For the winning of the crown, the persecutors were let loose against the Martyrs. The Martyrs were slain, the persecutors thought they had gotten the day: these did falsly triumph in publike, the other were truly crown'd in secret. Therefore, that he is permitted to deal against any, proceedeth from the hidden dispensation of Gods providence; but that he hath a will to hurt, cometh from the man himself: for he cannot kill presently whomsoever he willeth. Whereupon the Lord himself, the Judge of the quick and the dead, standing before a man that was his Judge (delivering therein unto us an example of humility, and a document of patience; not being himself overcome,

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but shewing unto his souldiers a pattern of fighting) from that judge threatning and swelling with pride (and saying, Knowest thou not that I have power to release thee, and to kill thee ?) took away the tumour which blew him up, and giving it a puffle as it were to make it grow down, Thou couldst, said he, have no power against me, except it were given thee from above.

Hereunto we may add likewise that place of Johannes Sarisburiensis, (q) That which the

(q) *Quod Princeps potest, ita à Deo est ut potestas à Domino non recedat : sed eà utitur per suppositam manum ; in omnibus doctrinam faciens clementie aut justitie sue. Qui ergò resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit, penes quem est auctoritas conferendi eam & cum vult, auferendi & minuendi eam. Neq; enim potentis est, cum vult, scire in subditos ; sed Divina dispensationis, pro beneplacito suo punire vel exercere subjeetos.* Joh. Sarisburiens. Polycratic. l. 4. c. 1.

Prince hath ability to do, is so from God, that the power doth not depart from the Lord : but he useth it by an under-posed hand, shewing in all things a document either of his mercy or of his justice. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, who hath the authority of conferring it and, when he pleaseth, of taking away or diminishing it. For it is not in the power of a great man to exercise cruelty upon those that are under his government, when he listeth ; but it is of Gods own dispensation, to punish or exercise the subjects according to his good pleasure. Out of all which we may learn, that not only the ability which Princes have of doing every

ry particular thing in their Government, but also the ordering the ends thereof, either to the good or evill of the party to whom it is done, dependeth altogether upon the pleasure of God, who oftentimes bringeth light out of darknes, and disposeth of events to far other purposes then we at first would have couceiv'd them to tend unto. Which

the very Heathen did partly take notice of, who said,

(r) *The condition of mortal men hath these kinds of vicissitudes, that adverse things do arise out of prosperous, and prosperous out of adverse. God doth hide the seeds of both; and the causes of our good and evill accidents do oftentimes lurk under a far different shew.*

(r) *Habet has vices conditio mortalium, ut adversa ex secundis, ex adversis secunda nascantur. Occultat utrorumq; semina Deus; & plerumq; bonorum malorumq; cause sub diversa specie latent. Plin. Panegy. ad Trajan.*

The Lord knoweth, saith (s) S. Peter, how (s) 2 Pet. 2. 9. to deliver the godly out of temptations; and to (r) Jam. 1. 20. reserve the unjust unto the day of judgement to (u) Psal. 76. 10. be punished. And although

(t) the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God: yet doth God so order the matter, that (u) the wrath of man shall praise him, and the remainder of wrath shall be restrained by him. Whereupon S. Augustin when he had declared, that (x) the power even of hurtful Kings is

(x) *Etiā nocentium potestas non est nisi à Deo: sicut scriptum est. loquente Sapientiā, Per me Reges regnant, & tyranni per me re- nent terram, &c. Injustum enim non est ut improbis accipientibus nocendi potestatem, & bonorum patientia probetur, & malorum iniquitas puniatur. Aug. lib. de natura boni, adve. sūs Manich. cap. 32.*

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from none but God; for the justifying of his proceeding therein he addeth that it is not unjust that naughty men receiving power to hurt, both the patience of the good should be tryed, and the iniquity of the wicked persecutors should be punished. For, as he elsewhere also

(y) Imperatores quando pro falsitate contra veritatem constituunt malas leges probantur bene credentes, & coronantur perseverantes. Id. Epist. 50. Imperatores si in errore essent, pro errore suo contra veritatem leges darent, per quas iusti & probarentur & coronarentur, non faciendo quod illi iuberent quia Deus prohiberet. Id. Epist. 166.

noteth, (y) When Emperours do make evill laws for falshood and against the truth; the right believers are tryed, and such as persevere are crowned: and again, (z) The terror of the temporal powers, when it doth oppose the truth, is to the just and strong a glorious trial, but to the weak a dangerous temptation: but when it proposeth the truth to such as erre, and are at discord; to men of understanding it proveth a profitable admonition, and to such as are not sensible thereof an unprofitable affliction. And

(z) Terror temporalium potestatum, quando veritatem oppugnat; iustis fortibus gloriosa probatio est, infirmis periculosa tentatio: quando autem veritatem pradicat errantibus & discordantibus; cordatis utilis admonitio est, & insensatis inutilis afflictio. Non est tamen potestas nisi à Deo: qui autem resistit potestati, Deo ordinationi resistit: Principes enim non sunt timori bono operi, sed malo. Vis autem non timere potestatem? bonum fac, & habebis laudem ex illa. Sive enim potestas veritati favens aliquem corrigat, laudem habet ex illa qui fuerit emendatus; sive inimica veritati in aliquem seuiat, laudem habet ex illa qui victor fuerit coronatus. Id. Epist. 48. Non ait, Bonum fac, & habebis laudem ex illa, vel cum eam in obsequium Dei lucratus fueris, vel cum ejus persecutione coronam merueris. Id. in exposit. quarund. proposit. ex Epist. ad Roman.

yes there is no power but of God; and he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: for Rulers are not a terroure to good works, but to the evill. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same. For whether the Power, favouring the truth, doth correct any man, he that is amended hath praise thereby; or being enemy to the truth, doth use cruelty against any, he that receiveth the crown for obtaining the victory hath praise for the same.

And therefore saith he, (a) If thy Governour be good, he is thy nourisher: if he be evill, he is thy tempter. Receive thy nourishment willingly, and approve thy self in temptation. Be thou gold: consider this world as the furnace of the workman. In one narrow place there are three things; gold, chaffe, and fire. The fire is put unto the other two: the chaffe is burn'd, the gold is purged.

(a) Bonus si fuerit qui tibi praest, nutritor tuus est: malus si fuerit, tentator tuus est. Et nutrimenta libenter accipe, & in tentatione approbare. Esto aurum; attende mundum istum tanquam fornacem artificis. In uno angusto loco tria sunt; aurum, palea, ignis. Ad illa duo ignis apponitur: palea uritur, aurum purgatur. Id. de verbis Domini, Serm. 6.

To which kinde of (b) fiery triall those passages of Scripture are to be referr'd, When he hath tryed me, I shall come forth as gold. (Job 23. 10.) That the tryall of your faith being much more precious then of gold, that perisheth, though it be tryed with fire, might be so found unto praise, and honour, and glory,

at

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at the appearing of *Iefus* Christ. (1 Pet. 1. 7.) Many shall be purified and made white and tryed. (Dan. 12. 10.) Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tryed, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him. (Jam. 1. 12.)

To draw then to a conclusion of this point. (c) Either thou doest justly, and the

(c) *Aut justè agis; & justa potestas laudabit te: aut justè agentem, etiamsi potestas injusta damnet te, Deus justus coronabit te.* Primas. in Rom. 13.

(d) *Rex est? si nocentem punit, cede justitiæ; si innocentem, cede fortune.* Senec. de Ira, l. 2. c. 30.

just power will praise thee; or thus doing justly, although the unjust power should condemn thee, the just God will crown thee, is the saying of Primasius. And, (d) If the King doth punish thee when thou art nocent, give place to Justice; if when thou art innocent, give place to fortune, was of old the advice of sage Seneca.

Now if a Heathen could bring his minde to such a temper, by yielding unto his blind Fortune; how much more should a Christian arme himself with patience, by giving way to the all-seeing providence of our most wise God? who so (e) worketh all things after the counsel of his own will, that he causeth all things to work, not only severally but also (f) joyntly, for good to them that love him: making their temporal evil an occasion of their eternal good: according

(e) Ephes. 1. 11.

(g) Πάντα συνεργῶν εἰς ἀγαθόν. Rom. 8. 28.

according

according to that of S. *Augustine*, (g) *Princes* (g) *Ita & à ple-*
are to be suffered by their People, and Masters by *bibus Principes,*
their Servants: that in the exercise of their *& à servis Domi-*
patience temporal things may be born, and eter- *ni sunt ferendi, ut*
nal hoped for by them. Whereof his Scholar *sub exercitatione*
Prosper maketh this paraphrase in his *Epi-*
grams, *tolerantia sustine-*
antur temporalia,
& sperentur eter-
na. *Prosp. senten.*

Reddendum est quicquid mundi bene postulat 34. ex August.

Propositumq; pia non violat fidei. (ordo,

Mitibus & sanctis nulla est spernenda potestas:

Aequum servire est Regibus & Dominis.

Ut Christi famulis ad verum proficit honorem,

Dilexisse bonos, & tolerasse malos.

And so much both of the *Active* obedience,
 which, in all things that may be done, we are
 bound to perform unto our Sovereigns; and
 of the *Passive*, which, in other cases, with all
 Christian fortitude we are tyed to undergoe,
 without the least carnal thought either of re-
 sisting their Authority, or conspiring against
 their Person, State, or Dignity.

(h) Ὁρκὸς δὲ πῶς
ἐμπίπτει θεῷ.
Gregor. Nazian.
in *desis* five de-
finitionib. rerum
simplicib.

Ὁρκὸς δὲ ὅτι μὴ
θεῷ παραλήψας
φάσις ἀναπιδεῖν.
Aristotel. Rhe-
toric. ad Alexan.
cap. 18.

(i) *Nullam vin-
culum ad strin-
gendam fidem
jurejurando ma-
jores arctius esse
voluerunt. Id in-*

*dicant leges in XII tabul. indicant sacra, indicant fœdera quibus
etiam cum hoste devincitur fides; indicant notiones animadversionesq;
cenforum, qui nulla de re diligentius quàm de jurejurando judicabant.
Cicer. Offic. lib. 3. (k) Non ignarus alicuius, nemini religiosius
quod juraverit custodiendum, quàm cujus maximè interest non pejerari.
Plin. de Trajano in Panegyrico suo. Ad quem Lipsius, Nam Principum
status & salus juramento nitebatur, quod quotannis, ipsis Kalendis Janu-
ariis, Senatus præstabat. (l) Malach. 2. 14. (m) Prov. 2. 17. (n) Ge-
nerale pactum est societatis humana, obedire Regibus suis. Augustin. 1. 3.
Confess. cap. 8.*

IT followeth that we should here also say
somewhat touching the *Oath* (h) of God :
then which (i) no bond hath been
esteem'd so strait to bind mens faith, as in
all other matters, so especially in this particu-
lar of (k) Fidelity and Obedience to be
perform'd by Subjects unto their Princes.
Wherein a double kind of Oath may be taken
into consideration ; the one *Tacite*, the other
Expresse. For as in Matrimony the (l) *cove-*
nant made between man and wife is in the
Scripture styled (m) *the covenant of God* ;
because thereby they have not only impledg'd
themselves the one unto the other upon earth,
but also to God in heaven, who is both a
witness of that contract, and a severe re-
venger of the breach thereof: so this be-
ing (n) *the general covenant of humane*

Society (as *S. Augustin* speaketh) to obey our Kings; God sheweth himself to be so far interessed therein, as if an attestation had been interposed of his own glorious and fearful name. Upon which ground *Solomon* doth counsel, or rather charge us (for the principal verb is wanting in the Original; as if no word could be found significant enough to expresse the deepness of the charge) (o) to (o) Eccl. 8. 2. keep the Kings commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God: the very being in the condition of a Subject, carrying with it by implication a silent kind of Oath of fidelity, and due obedience.

But Princes, for their better security, beside this tacite and implicate, thought fit their subjects should be further charg'd with expresse and direct formes of Oaths. Examples whereof we have; one, that which the (p) Emperour *Justinian* required of those who bore office under him; an other, (q) taken by the Subjects of *Charles* the Great; divers (r) required both of the Clergy and the Laity, by *Carolus Calvus*; (s) the Oath of fidelity made unto *Frederick Barbarossa* and King *Henry* his Son by the Cities of *Lombardy*, *Marchia* and *Romandiola*: and with us not only the Oaths

(p) Justinian. Novel. 9. tit. 3.

(q) Marculph. Formul. à Frid. Lindenbrogio edit. num. 40.

(r) Capitul. Caroli Calvi, cap. 13, 22, & 38. (pag. 117, 165, & 387. edit. Paris. an. 1623.

(s) De pace Constantiæ (in fine corporis juris Civilis.)

(r) Coke 7. Report. fol. 6, & 7. in Calvins case, and in his Institutes sect. 94. & 259.

of Supremacy and Allegiance ordain'd by latter Statutes; but also (u) the Oath of *Ligeance*, which every Subject above the age of 12 years is tied to take in the Tourn or Leet, by the ancient Common Law. The violation of which sacred bonds how haينously God doth take, even as a despising of his own Oath and a breaking of his own Covenant, these terrible threats of his against

(u) 2 Chr. 36. 13. Zedekiah, that (u) rebelled against King Nebuchadnezzar, who had made him swear by God, do sufficiently demonstrate. (x) Behold,

13, &c. the King of Babylon is come to Jerusalem, and hath taken the King thereof, and the Princes, and led them with him to Babylon. And hath taken of the Kings seed, and made a Covenant with him, and hath taken an Oath of him: he hath also taken the mighty of the Land. That the Kingdom might be base, that it might not lift itself up, but that by keeping of his covenant it might stand. But he rebelled against him, in sending his Ambassadors into Egypt, that they might give him horses and much people. Shall he prosper? Shall he escape that doth such things? or shall he break the Covenant and be delivered? As I live, saith the Lord God, surely in the place where the King dwelleth that made him King, whose Oath he despised, and whose Covenant he brake, even with him in the midst of Babylon he shall die. Neither shall Pharaoh with his mighty Army and great com-

company make for him in the way by casting up mounts, and building forts, to cut off many persons. Seeing he despised the Oath, by breaking the Covenant (when, loe, he had given his hand) and hath done all these things, he shall not escape. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, As I live, surely MINE oath that he hath despised, and MY covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompense upon his own head. And I will spread my net upon him, and he shall be taken in my snare, and I will bring him to Babylon, and will plead with him there for his trespasss that he hath trespassed against ME. And all his fugitives with all his bands shall fall by the sword, and they that remain shall be scattered towards all winds: and ye shall know that I the Lord hath spoken it.

And the sentence is very solemn which *Isidore*, that famous Archbishop of *Sevil*, with threescore and ten other Bishops assembled in the IV. Council of *Toledo*, did pronounce against such rebellious persons as made no conscience of the performance of that Oath of Fidelity which they had taken for the preservation of the safety of their King and Country; (y) *Whosoever of us, or of the People* *Quicumq; amodo ex nobis, vel totius Hispanie populis, qualibet conjuratione vel studio, sacramentum fidei sue, quod pro patria gentisq; Gothorum statu, vel conservatione Regie salutis (vel incolumitate Regie potestatis) pollicitus est, temeraverit, aut Regem necce attrectaverit, aut potestate regni exuerit, aut presumptione tyrannica regni fastigium usurpaverit, anathema in conspectu Dei Patris & Angelorum, atq; ab Ecclesia Catholica, quam perjurio profanaverit, efficiatur extraneus, & ab omni cœtu Christianorum alienus, cum omnibus impietatis sue sociis: quia oportet ut una pœna teneat obnoxios, quos similis error invenerit implicatos.* Concil. Toletan. IV. cap, ult.

The Obedience of the Subject.

ibroughout all Spain, shall from henceforward, by any kind of conspiracy or practice, violate the Oath of Fidelity which he hath taken for the safeguard of the Countrey and Gothish nation, or the preservation of the Kings Majesty, or shall attempt the Kings death, or deprive him of the Government of his Kingdome, or by tyrannical presumption usurp the Regal Throne; let him (say they in the first place) be accursed before God the FATHER and the Angels, be cast out of the Catholique Church which by his perjury he hath profaned, and excommunicated from the company of all Christian men, together with all the complices of his impiety: it being fit that they should be liable to the same penalty, who are found involved in the error of the like conspiracy. And (in the

(2) *Anathema in conspectu Christi & Apostolorum ejus sit, atq; ab Ecclesia Catholica, quam perjurio profanaverit, efficiatur extraneus, & ab omni consortio Christianorum alienus, & damnatus in futuro Dei judicio habeatur; cum participibus suis: quia dignum est ut qui talibus sociantur, ipsi etiam damnationis eorum participatione obnoxii teneantur.* Concil. Toletan. IV. cap. ult.

second place) (2) let him be accursed before CHRIST and his Apostles, be cast out of the Catholique Church, &c. and be damned in Gods future judgement, together with his partakers: it being just that they who are associated to such, should likewise be held obnoxious to the participation of their condemnation. And (the third time

also) (a) Let him be accursed before the HOLY GHOST and the Martyrs of Christ, be cast out of the Catholique Church, &c. and let him have no portion with the just, but be condemned to eternal punishments with the Devil and his Angels, together with those that are combined in the same conspiracy: that they may be tyed in the same penalty of perdition, who were joyn'd in the same wicked society of sedition. Which sentence of the Bishops, three times thus denounced, In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, was seconded by this general acclamation of the whole Clergy and people that were present, (b) Whosoever shall presume against this definition of yours, let them be Anathema Maranatha, that is, accursed unto the coming of our Lord; and let them have their part with Judas Iscariot, both they and their associates.

societas copulat. Concil. Toletan. IV. cap. ult. (b) Ab universo Clero & populo dictum est, Qui contra hanc vestram definitionem presumpserint, Anathema Maranatha, hoc est, perditio in adventum Domini sint; & cum Juda Iscariot, partem habeant, & ipsi & socii eorum. Amen. Ibid.

This (c) provision for the safety and behoof of Princes was confirmed likewise in the V. Council of Toledo; and this Canon

(c) *Hac nostri Concilii communiter considerata defertur sententia; ut servetis quaecumque in universali & magna Synodo provisae conscrip- taq; circa Principum salutem & utilitatem sunt. lb. V. cap. 2. enacted.*

(d) *Propter malorum mentium facilitatem & memorie oblivionem, hoc sacratissima statuit Synodus; ut in omni Concilio Episcoporum Hispania, universalis Concilii decretum quod propter Principum nostrorum est salutem constitutum, peractis omnibus in Synodo, publicâ voce debet pronunciari: quatenus saepe replicatum auribus, vel assiduitate iniquorum mens territa corrigatur, quæ ad prævaricandum & oblivione & facilitate perducitur.* enacted therein for the time to come, (d) *In regard of the facility of evil-affected minds, and the forgetfulness of memory, this holy Synod hath ordain'd, that in every Council of the Bishops of Spain, the Decree of the National Council which was made for the safety of our Princes, after all things are finish'd in the Synod, should with a publique voice be pronounced: that being often represented unto mens ears, even by this very assiduity the mind of evil men being terrified may be corrected, which by their forgetfulness and facility would otherwise be drawn to disloyalty.* Whereunto, in the X. Council of Toledo, this Canon also was afterwards added, for the deposition of such of the Clergy as should violate those Oathes that were generally taken for the preservation of the safety of the King and Countrey. (e) *Whereas both by the sanctions of certain decrees of the Fathers, and by Legal constitutions it hath been* Concil. Toletan. V. c. 7. (e) *Cum & quorundam paternorum sanctionibus decretorum & institutionibus sic legalibus cautum, nè contra salutem Principum gentisq; aut patriæ quisquam meditari conetur adversum; hoc unum specialiter nunc depromitur observandum, ut si quis Religiosorum, ab Episcopo usq; ad extremum ordinis Clericorum sive Monachorum, generalia juramenta in salutem Regiam gentisq; aut patriæ data reperiatur violasse voluntate profanâ, mox propriâ dignitate privatus, & loco & honore habeatur exclusus; eo miserationis obtentu tantummodo reservato, ut an locum, an honorem, an utraq; possideat, concedendi jus licentiamq; principalis potestas obtineat.* Concil. Toletan. X. cap. 2.

been provided, that none should attempt to devise any thing contrary to the safety of our Prince, Nation or Countrey; this one thing is now added specially to be observed, that if any Religious person, from the Bishop unto the meanest of the Clerical or Monastical order, shall be found with a profane intendment to have violated those general Oaths that have been taken for the safety of the King, Nation or Countrey, he shall be presently deprived of his dignity, and be excluded both from his place and honour; this hope of mercy being only reserved, that it shall be left in the power of the Prince, whether he shall repossess either his place, or his honour, or both of them. Thus far the Fathers of Toledo.

The first we finde that stiffely stood against the taking of these general Oathes of Fidelity, were the *Pharisees*, who being of (f) the strictest Sect of the Jewish Religion, did indeed (g) outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within were full of hypocrisie and iniquity. Yet by this outward shew of Religion they gain'd such a reputation with the people, that (h) they were able by that means to do much hurt unto those that hated them, and to give great furtherance unto such as stood friendly affected toward them; being strongly believed by the multitude, even

(f) Act. 26. 5.

(g) Mt. 23. 27,

28. Mt. Luk. 12. 1.

(d) Διῶνται ὅτι πολὺ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τέτοις ἔφασκε, βλάψαι τιμισσώπας, καὶ φίλους διακεχωρῶς ὡφελῶσαι· μάστιγα γὰρ πρὸς ἐκεῖνους περὶ τῶν πλῆθους αἰεὶ ὦν ἂν καὶ φθονοῦντες περιχαρὲς ἦσαν. Alexander Rex, apud Joseph. lib. 13. Antiq. cap. 23. vide & cap. sequ. & lib. 18. c. 2.

when for meer envy they did speak hardly of any man : so far, that (i) if they did speak

(i) Τοσαύτῳ ἔχου τὴν ἰσὺν παρὰ τῷ πλήθει, ὥς καὶ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν πλῆθος, καὶ κατὰ ἀρχιερεῖς, αὐτοὺς πιστεύουσι.

(k) Φαρισαῖοι καλοῦντο, βασιλῆων συνίμβροι μάλιστα ἀντιπράττειν, σεσημασμένοι, καὶ τὸ πρέπιν εἰς τὸ πλεονεξεῖν τε καὶ βλάβην ἐπιφέρειν. Παντοῦ οὖν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν βεβαιώσας, ὁ δὲ ὄγκων ἢ μὴ δυνάσασθαι Κάισαρι, καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦς περιγύμνασι, οἷδε οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκ τοῦτο, ὅντες ἐξ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ αὐτῶν βασιλέων ζημιώσας, ἢ φερόμεν γυνὴ τῷ ζυμῶν αὐτῶν εἰσφέρειν, &c. Joseph. lib. 17. cap. 3.

any thing against the King himself or against the high Priest, they were presently believed.

Of them thus writeth Josephus, (k) These were called Pharisees, such as were able openly to practise against Kings; being very subtle, and presuming by their motions to raise war against them, and to annoy them. Whereas therefore all the Jews had by Oaths obliged their fidelity to Cæsar Augustus, and to the estate of King Herod, these men would not swear at

all, being above six thousand in number. Whereupon the King having imposed a fine upon them, the Wife of Pheroras (Herods brother) paid it for them. For which cause they intending to requite her kindness, and being esteem'd by their intercourse with God to have obtained the knowledge of things to come, foretold her that God had determin'd to bring the Government of Herod and his posterity to an end, and that the Kingdom should be transferred to her and Pheroras and the children begotten of them both. But Herod, having discovered the conspiracy of these false Prophets, put the principal contrivers thereof unto death, and all those of his

his household servants that were of their faction.

Not long after these (1) rose up Judas (1) Act. 7. 37. of Galilee, in the dayes of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: but with the like success: for he also perish'd, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed; as is related by Gamaliel in the Acts of the

Apostles. (m) This Judas, with Sadduc the Pharisee his associate, solicited the people to rebellion; alledging that the taxing brought with it a plain confession of their servitude, and exhorting them to maintain their liberty: and brought in a new Sect among the Jews; the followers whereof did (n) in all other things agree with the opinions of the Pharisees, but had a most constant love of liberty, accounting God alone to be their Prince and Lord. In-
somuch that they make little account of undergoing exquisite kinds of deaths, or of the punishments of their kinsfolks and friends, rather then they would call any man their Lord. Whereas, on the other side, the Essenes would admit none to any neer communion with their Sect, before he had first bound himself by

(m) Σαδδουκον φαρισαϊον προσλαμβάνοντα, ἠπείχετο ἐπὶ ὑποτάξει τῷ τε ἀποτίμῳ καὶ ἄλλοις ἢ ἀντι-
κρὺς δελεῖν ἐπιφέρειν λέγοντες, καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἐπ' ἀντιλήξει παρακα-
λεῶντες τὸ ἔθνος. Joseph. lib. 18.
Antiq. cap. 1.

(n) Τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ πάντα γενόμενα
ἐκ φαρισαίων ὁμολογεῖται, συνεκείνηται
καὶ τὸ ἐλευθερίας ἔχειν ὅτι αὐτοῖς, μόνον
ἡγεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην τὸ Θεὸν ἐκείνην
ἐκείνην. θανάτου τε ἰσχυρὰ ἐκείνην
παρακαλεῖται ἐν ὁλίγῳ πένει, καὶ
συγγενῶν τιμωρίας καὶ εἰλών, καὶ
τὸ μηδὲν ἄνθρωπον προσταγῶν
δεσπότην. Id. lib. 18. cap. 2.

a solemn Oath, (o) ever to keep his faith unto all, but especially unto Princes; considering that no man doth attain to

(o) Τα πᾶν αἰεὶ παρέξεν πᾶσι, μάλιστα ὅ πῶς κρατῶσιν. ἔ γάρ διχα θεῶ πειρίνεδαί πνι τὸ ἀρχεν. Joseph. lib. 2. Bell. Jud. cap. 12. (al. 17.)

(p) Σπῖαν τὸ ἐθνὸς ἀναρπάσαι ἐβλονῆ, ὅπερ ἢ μόνον ἢ μάλιστα ἤδει βελαῖς ἀνοσίς κ; περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνπιβισμῶν, ἵνα τὸ ἔθνος περὶ αὐτὸν κινδυνώδωται αὐτοκράτορ. Philo, in legat. ad Caium.

that power without Gods own appointment. And the people of the Jews generally had been so far this way instructed out of Gods word, that when *Sejanus* intended his conspiracy against *Tiberius*, he first (p) endeavoured to remove this nation out of the way: which he knew would either alone or most of all oppose his ungodly counsels and practices, for the endangering the life of the Em-

perour. Whereupon commandment was given by *Tiberius* afterwards unto all the

(q) Ἐρχεπαθήκω ἔχεν τὴν τε ἀνδρας ὡς εἰρηνικὸς τὰς φύσεις, κ; τὰ νόμιμα ὡς ἀλείφοντα πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν. Ibid.

Presidents of the Provinces, that they should (q) take into their protection, both the men themselves as persons of a peaceable disposition, and their laws likewise as things much

tending to the settlement of publique tranquillity.

(r) Ὁρῶσι τὴν πλῆθὺν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. So, upon his death, the people of the Jews with the first took their (r) Oath of fidelity. Joseph. Antiq. l. 18. c. 7. de Vitellio Syriæ Præside, Hierosolymis tum agente.

fidelity.

fidelity to his successour *Caius* ; and offered *1* (s) solemn Sacrifices at the Temple of *Jerusalem* for his safety. Who are therefore represented by King *Agrippa* to *Caius* himself as a Nation (t) *from the beginning most religiously and piously affected toward his family. For in what things they may, saith he, and are permitted to do by the lawes of their Religion, they come no wayes short of any people either of Asia or Europe, in prayers, erection of Donaries, and multitude of sacrifices, not only in their publique celebriities, but also in their daily devotions. Whereby they do declare this pious respect of theirs, not so much with their mouth and tongue as with the willingness of their inward soul : not saying that they are the friends of Caesar, but being so in truth and in deed. Thus Agrippa wrote unto Caius, being incensed against the Jews for not giving way to the dedicating his statue in their Temple, with the title which he had assumed unto himself of New Jupiter. In the carriage of which unhappy business, it will not be amiss to consider that notable example of Passive obedience shewed at that time by this people.*

(*) Πρώτον τὸ ἡμέ-
τερον ἐξόν ἐδίδξατο
τὰς ὑπὸ τ' ἀρχῆς
Γαλιθ θυσίας Philo, legat. ad Ca-
ium.

Εὐσπαρῶ, καὶ ἐκα-
πύμβας ἐθύσαυρ,
ὧν τὸ αἷμα πρὸ βα-
μῶ περισπείσωντες
πρὸ κρέα ἐκ εἰς θεία
πινε καὶ δ' ὠχρὰν οἶκα-
δι ἐκομίσσων (ὡς
ἐθ' ἐνέκους ποτεῖν)
ἀλλ' ὀλόκωνται τὰ
ἱερεῖα παραδόντες
τῇ ἐξ' αὐτοῦ.

Ibid.

(τ) Εὐπερέστατα καὶ
ὁπώτατα διακέμενον
ὅς ἀρχῆς πρὸς ἀ-
παντα τὰ υμῶν ἐργα-
σίμων. Ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ
ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία μετα-
νοῦν ἀποβῆναι, ἡθε-
λῶς ἢ τε τῷ Ἀσπα-
σῶν ἢ τε τῷ ἐν Εὐ-
ρώπῃ λέγειν τὸ πα-
ράναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀα-
θρομάτων κατασκευ-
αίς, πλήθει τοῦ πάν,
καὶ μόνον ἐν ταῖς χρι-
στὸς δημοτικαῖς ἐορ-
ταῖς ἀναγνωμαῖς,

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐντελεχέσθω· ἵνα ὡς ἐσώματι καὶ γὰρ σώματι μνηύσῃ·
τὰ αὐτῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ψυχῆς ἀφανὲς βελώμασιν, οἱ μὴ λέγοντες ὅτι φιλοκαταξυς
εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὄντες ὄντως. Ibid.

The inhabitants of *Jerusalem* and all the
rest of the Countrey no sooner had notice of
B b 3. these

these woful tidings, but presently as one man, leaving their Towns, and Castles, and Houses, they presented themselves in *Phœnicia* before *Petronius* the President of *Syria*; unto whom *Caius* had committed the execution of this wicked command of his. Where the old men, yong folks and boyes distributed into three ranks, and the old women, younger women and virgins divided into three other, at one instant fell down unto the ground before the President, with a lamentable kinde of howling. Being commanded to arise and to draw nearer, with much ado they did so; and being covered with dust, and beblubbered with tears, came with both their hands drawn behind their backs after the manner of condemned persons, causing their mind to be delivered by their spokesmen to

(u) "Ασπλοι ἐσμεν
ὡς ὄρατε, ἀφ' ἁγνο-
μίας ὃ ἀιπῶνται
πίτες ὡς πολέμους·
ἀ δ' ἡ φύσις ἐκάτω
σεστέμηναι ἀμυν-
τική μὲν χεὶρ,
ἀπὸ ἐξοπλισμῶν· ἐνθα
μὴδὲν ἐργασάσαι
δυνάμεθα, παρέχοντες

αὐτῇ τὰ σπώματα πρὸς ἀσκόπως τίς θέλων ἀποκτενεῖ βολάς. Γυναικὲς καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναικὲς ἐπιμαρμένθα σοι, καὶ διὰ σὸ προσποσέμεθα Γαίῳ, μηδὲν αἰκοὶ καταλιπόντες, ἵνα ἡ πειρώσῃτε πάντας, ἡ πάντας παυαλεθεῖα διαφθείρητε, &c. Πρωθαδόμεθα πρὸς καὶ ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις συβελπίζαι καὶ ἡμῶν, εἰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνά-
θεσιν ἀντιβάντων. ἔδειξεν ἔτι μὲν, ὡς δ' ἔλθῃ ἂν ἐταρπύδαι διαπότη. Πα-
ρέχοντες ἐν ἐπίμῳ τὰς σφαγὰς ἀσπλοὶ. κτενέτωσι, ἱερδύτωσι, κρεωνομείτωσαν
ἀμαχεὶ καὶ ἀναιματί· πάντα ὅσα μακαρτοκόπων ἔργα δέσποσι, &c. Ἀποθανόν-
των τὸ ἐπιπύγμα γινέσθω μέμφοιτ' ἂν ἔδῃ Θεὸς ἡμᾶς ἀμφοτέρων σεραζομένης,
καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀποκρίπτεσθαι ἀλαβείας, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν καθυστάμενης ἰόρως ἐπιδύ-
λῃς. Ibid.

senting

senting our own bodies as a fair mark to be shot at, to those that have a minde to kill us. Our wives and our children and our families we have brought unto thee, and by thee do prostrate our selves before Cains; having left none at home, to the end that you might either save us all, or cut us off all by a common destruction. We hear that foot and horse forces are prepared against us, if we give impediment to this dedication. There is none so mad, that being a servant he would oppose himself against his master. We are ready to undergo our slaughter most willingly. Let them kill us, sacrifice us, cut us in pieces without fight or any loss of the least drop of their own blood, let them put in execution whatsoever Conquerours use to do. This shall be our last will, when we are a dying; that neither God himself may finde fault with us for having a respect to both these, the reverence we owe unto our Prince, and the observance due unto our most sacred law.

Petronius, at that time being not able to prevail with them, removed from *Ptolemais* to *Tiberias* in *Galilee*; where fifty dayes together were spent in the treaty of this matter: the *Jews* the mean while neglecting their feed-time, and (x) crying out, that before their

(x) Πρὸς ταῦτα τὸ πλῆθος πάντες ἐβόα, ὡς τὸ ἑνὸς ψάλλειν ἐπὶ μῶς ἔχουσιν. κατὰ σέλας ὃ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν αὐτοῖς πᾶσι βόη, Πολεμήσατε, εἰπὼν, ἄρα καὶ σάββατον ἡμεῖς. αὐτοὶ δὲ βόωντες ἐν καρδίαις καὶ γυναικῶν.

μὲν καὶ ὅσας ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δις τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔβασαν· εἰ δὲ βέλτε-
ρας εἰκόνας ἐγκαθιδρύειν, ὥστε πρὸς αὐτὰ εἶναι ἅπαν τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνη· περὶ τού-
του παρέχει δὲ σφὰς αὐτὲς ἐπίμνησις εἰς σφαγῶν, αἵμα τίκτοις καὶ γυναιξίν.
Joseph, lib. 2. Bell. Jud. cap. 17. (al. 9.)

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law should be violated, they were ready to suffer any thing. To whom *Petronius*, Are you then minded to fight against *Cesar*? Their answer was, that twice every day they did offer sacrifice for *Cesar* and the people of *Rome*: but if he would needs erect those images, he must first offer the whole Nation of the *Jews* for a sacrifice; they being ready to present themselves to the slaughter, together with their wives and children. With which carriage of theirs the President was so moved, that he stayed the execution of the business: wherewith the Emperour was so highly offended, that he threatned death unto him, for being so slow in the performance of his commandements. But seven and twenty dayes before those minatory letters came unto his hands, *Petronius* received others that certified him of the death of that bloody Tyrant; who was so professed an enemy not only to the Jewish Nation, but also to his own, that he (y) wished the people of *Rome* had but one neck, that he might cut it off with one blow.

(y) *Utinam populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet.* Sueton. in C. Caligula, cap. 30. Dio, histor. lib. 59. P. O. of. lib. 7. c. 5.

There were living at that time three of the sons of *Judas* of *Galilee*, *James*, *Simon* and *Manahem*; who, no doubt, would not let slip such an opportunity as this, to stir up those seditious spirits that adhered unto their Fathers Sect, unto an open defection from the Roman Government. But sure it is, that the (z) two former, for such practices as these,

(z) *Joseph.* lib. 20. An iquir. cap. 3.

these, were not long after crucified by *Tiberius Alexander* the Roman Governour. The third lived to be a chief Captain of the Rebellious rout, that under pretence of recovering their liberty, made that war against the *Romans* which brought themselves and their Countrey unto utter ruine: *Agrippa* the King, and *Josephus* the Priest labouring in vain to dissuade them from those seditious attempts. For, said

Agrippa to them, (a) now to desire liberty is unreasonable: you ought at first to have striven, that you might not lose it; considering that the admittance of slavery is a heavy thing, and that it may not at all begin is a just cause of war. But he who being once subdued

doth afterwards revolt, sheweth himself to be a contumacious servant, rather than a lover of liberty. Which *Josephus* also put them in mind of afterward; that although

(b) it be a good and commendable thing to fight for liberty, yet that was to be done in the beginning: but for those that were once brought into subjection, and for a long time had undergone the same, to shake off the yoke afterward, would be the part of those that were desirous of a shamefull

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death,

(a) Ἀλλὰ μὲν πρῶτον ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀσέβητον· διὸν ὑπὲρ τὸ μὴ δεῦρο βαλεῖν αὐτῶν ἐργάζεσθαι ὥστε-
ρον. ἢ γὰρ πῶτα τὴ δουλείας χαλεπὴ, καὶ πρὶ τῆ μὴ δεῦρο ἀρξάμεν ταύτης ὁ ἀγὼν δίκαιος· ὁ δὲ ἀπ᾽ χειρωθείς, ἐπειτα ἐφιστάμενος, αὐθάδης δούλος ἔσται, καὶ φιλελεύθερος. *Joseph. lib. 2. Bell. Jud. cap. 28. (al. 16.)*

(b) Ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ πολέμῳ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας καλὸν, χεῖρον τὸ πρῶτον. τὸ δ' ἀπ᾽ ὑποταγέντας, καὶ μακροῖς ἔχοντας χρόνοις, ἐπειτα ἀποστρέφασθαι τὸ ζυγόν, διδανάτων τῶν καὶ φιλελεύθερων τῶν. *Id. lib. 6 cap. 26. (al. 11.)*

death, rather than of such as would be accounted the lovers of liberty.

The prime (c) foundation of this cruel War was laid by Eleazar the son of Ananias the high Priest; who,

with his complices, rejected the sacrifice that was to be offered for Cesar, and with him for the Romans, notwithstanding that divers of the chief Priests and others of the best esteem did earnestly request

them not to intermit that custome of sacrificing for their Governours; telling them that

thereby, meerly (d) to provoke the armes of the Romans, and (as it were) to wed a war from them, they had brought in a new kinde of Religion:

(e) it being to be fear'd, that such as rejected the sacrifices which were for them, should be forbidden any more to sacrifice for themselves; and that the City of Jerusalem should be outlawed by the Empire, if quick-

ly gathering their wits together they did not accept Cesars sacrifices, and rectifie this contumely before the same thereof should come unto those whom they had wrong'd thereby. The mischief was brought to the full height

by

(c) Τὸ το δὲ ἢ τὸ αἰεὶ Ρωμαῖς πολέμῳ καταβλή. πλὴν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν θυρίων Καίσαρος ἀπὸρίσαν, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τε ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν πεισχυουσῶν, μὴ παραλίπεν τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡγεμόνων ἐθῶς, ἐκ ἐνέθου. Joseph. lib. 2. cap. 30. (al. 17)

(d) Αὐτοὶ δὲ ἰαὺ ἐρεθίζοντες τὰ Ρωμαίων ὅπλα, καὶ κοινωδόμενοι τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνων πόλεμον, κινεστέμεν θρησκείαν ξέναν. Ibid.

(e) Δεδειχέναι μάλιστα μὴ τὰς ὑπὲρ ὁμῶν ἀπορίσαντες θυσίας, κωλυθῶσι θυεῖν καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν, γένηται τε ἑκάστοις τὸ ἡγεμονίας ἢ πόλεως, εἰ μὴ ταχέως σωθῶσιν ἀποδόντες τὰς θυσίας, καὶ πρὶν ἐξελεῖν ἐδ' ὅς τις ὑβρίσῃ πλὴν φήμην, ἀπορῶσιν πλὴν ὑβρίν. Ibid.

by those turbulent persons, who assumed to themselves the name of (f) Zelots : and did indeed, saith *Josephus*, (g) *by their works make good their name : for there was no evil work which they did not imitate, nor any evil practised within the memory of man, wherein they shewed not themselves Zealous : howsoever they took their name from such as were zealous in goodness.* But in the end they brought (h) desolation upon their City, ruine upon their Nation, and the (i) severity of Gods just judgement upon themselves. *For as many punishments as it is possible for mans nature to endure were heaped upon them, even to the last expiring of their life ; which with variety of tortures they miserably finished.*

(f) Τὸτο γὰρ αὐ-
τὸς ἐκάλεισεν ὡς ἐπ'
ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιπνεύμα-
τον, ἀλλ' ἔζηλώ-
σαντες τὰ χάρισμα
τῶ ἐργῶν καὶ ὑπερ-
βαλλόμενοι. Id.

lib. 4. cap. 12.
(al. 5)

(g) Τὴν ὥρην
 ποιεῖν τίς ἐξ ὧς
 ἐπαγγέλλεται. πᾶς
 γὰρ καλῶς ἐργον
 ἐξωμνήσασθαι, μήδ'
 εἰπὼ ὥσπερ ἐν πρῶ-
 τῳ κεφάλῳ ἡ μήνη πα-
 ρέεικεν, αὐτὴ πα-
 ρελατύνεται ἀλλὰ
 πρῶτον κεφάλαιον τὴν
 ὥρην ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ
 ζηλωτῶν ἐπιθῇ

σαν. Id. lib. 7. cap. 30. (al. 28.) (h) Ἡ γὰρ καὶ τῇ δήμῳ ἡ
 ζηλωτῇ ἐπίθεσις κατῆξεν ἀλώπεως τῇ πόλει. Id. lib. 6. cap. 1.
 (i) Περσῆκον ἔχασαι τὸ τέλει ἔυραπο, τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνέπαι-
 στωσίαν βεβήσασαί. ὅσας γὰρ ἀνθρώπου διώμα φῦσις κολάσεις ὑπερβαίνει,
 πᾶσι κατέσκηψαν εἰς αὐτὸς. μέχρις ἃ ἔχρησεν τῷ βίῳ πελοπῇ, ἣν ὑπέμειναν ἐν
 πολυτέλει αἰκίαις ἀποθαύοντες. Id. lib. 7. cap. 30.

The tail of this smoking firebrand was kindled afterward by that Captain of the *Jewish* rebellion, who named himself *Barcochebas*, the *son of the star*, (as if that part of *Balaam's* prophetic, (k) *There shall come a star out of Jacob*, had been meant of him) but was by the *Jews*, when they found their

(k) Num 24.17.

expectation deceived by him, tearmed *Barcozba*, the son of a lie. (1) This lewd

(1) *Cochebas dux Judaica factionis nolentes sibi Christianos adversum Romanum militem ferre subsidium, omnimodis cruciatibus necat.* Euseb. in Chronico. Vid. & P. Oros. hist. l. 7. c. 13.

impostor, because he could not draw the Christians from their allegiance, nor perswade them to joyn arms with the Jewish faction against the power of the Romans, inflicted all the

tortures upon them that he could devise.

For the heresie of *Judas of Galilee* had by

(m) 1 Thess. 2. this time fully possess'd the Jews; a people
15. who (m) neither pleased God, and were

(n) *Cum ipsi Romanis legibus tene-
xi se negent, ita ut crimina leges
putent; nunc velut Romanis legibus
se vindicandos putent?* Ambros. lib.
5. Epist. 29.

contrary to all men; not only (n) denying that they were any way tyed by the Roman lawes, but also accounting it a crime to obey them. And now the spirit of Obedience did passe

(o) Rev. 2. 9. & from the (o) Synagogue of those which
3. 9. say they are Jewes and are not, to the

(p) 1 Tim. 3. 15. (p) Church of the living God, which did so waite for the kingdom hoped for at the glorious appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that it detracted nothing in the mean time from that subjection our Lord himself, both by his precept and example, had prescribed to be given by his followers unto all earthly Kings and Governours.

And

And yet were the *Pagans* so mistaken herein that, (q) *when they heard the Christians did expect a Kingdom, they indiscreetly supposed that they meant a worldly one, not that which hereafter they should have with God, at the second coming of our Saviour.* Which the Emperour *Domitian* is therefore said to have no lesse (r) *feared, then Herod* did the first. Whereupon he caused some that remained of the kindred of our Lord according to the flesh to be presented before him, who being (s) *demanding touching Christ and his Kingdom, what kinde of thing it was, and when and where it should appear, they return'd for answer, that it was neither worldly nor earthly, but Celestial and Angelical; and that it should be at the consummation of the world, when that he coming in glory shall judge the quick and the dead, and render unto every man according unto his works.* Upon which it is said, that *Domitian* condemn'd them not, but despising them as mean persons,

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(q) Ὑμεῖς, ἀκούσαντες βασιλείαν
προσδοκᾶνται ἡμᾶς, ἀκρίτως ἀν-
θρώπινον λέγειν ἡμᾶς ἐπαγγέλατε,
ἡμεῖς τὴν μὲν Θεὸν ἀσπάζονταν. Justin.
Martyr, pro Christianis Apo-
log. 2.

(r) Ἐφοβήτο γὰρ τὴν παρυσίαν τῷ
Χεῖσθ, ὡς καὶ Ἡρώδης. Hegesippus
apud Euseb. lib. 3. Hist. Eccles.
cap. 20.

(s) Ἐρωτηθέντας δὲ περὶ τῷ Χεῖσθ καὶ
τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτῶν, ὅποια τις εἴη, καὶ
πότε, καὶ ποῦ φανησόμεν, λόγον δοῦναι,
ὡς ἡ κοσμικὴ μὴ ἐδ' ἐπ' ἔρχετο, ἐπε-
ράνετο δὲ καὶ ἀγγελικὴ πυχάνει· ἐπὶ
σωτηρίᾳ τῷ αἰῶνι γενησόμεν,
ὅππῃ ἐλθὼν ἐν δόξῃ κρινεῖ ζῶντας
καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ ἀποδώσει ἕκαστῳ κατὰ
ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτῶν. Ἐφ' οἷς μηδὲν
αὐτοῖς κατεργασάμενα τῷ Διμπαρὲν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν καταρτησάντων,
ἐλθόντες μὴ αὐτὸς ἀνῆλθαι, κατα-
παύσαι δὲ διὰ πειρασμάτων τῶν κατὰ
ἐκκλησίαν διωγμῶν. Id. ibid.

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did both let them goe free, and by Edict stayed the persecution then raised against the Church.

- But our Saviour himself had long since
 (t) 1 Tim. 6. 13. resolved this doubt in that (t) *good confession* which he witnessed before Pontius Pilate; when he plainly declared, that (u) his Kingdom was not of this world. Whereupon S. Augustin maketh this loud Proclamation, (x) *Hear Jews and Gentiles, hear Circumcision, hear Uncircumcision, hear all kingdoms upon earth. I do not hinder your Government in this world: My kingdom is not of this world:* and then biddeth them (y) not to fear with that most vain fear wherewith Herod was so troubled, when news was brought him that Christ was born, and killed so many Infants, that death might come upon him; being made more cruel by fearing then by being angry. Of whom Maximus Taurinensis also thus, (z) *The King was troubled, fearing, I believe, his Kingdom should be touched: not knowing that Christ came not to invade his Kingdom, but to save it; and that*
 (x) *Audite Iudei & Gentes, audi circumcisio, audi preputium, audite omnia regna terrena. Non impedio dominationem vestram in hoc mundo: Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo.* Augustin. in Evang. Johan. tract. 115.
 (y) *Nolite metueret metu vanissimo, quo Herodes ille major, cum Christus natus nunciaretur, expavit, & tot infantes, ut ad eum mors perveniret, occidit; timendo magis quam irascendo crudelior. Id. ibid. (z) Turbatur Rex, regno (credo) metuens suum: nescius quia Christus non veniebat regnum ejus invadere, sed salvare; & quod nulli inferret mortem, qui est vita cunctorum.* Maxim. Taurin. homil. 4. in Epiphania Dom.
 See the book of the Religion of the ancient Irish, toward the end of the XI. Chapter,

be intended not to bring death upon any, who is the life of all men.

And whereas, after the ascension of our Saviour, there had been (a) a great fame spread abroad, which charged his Apostles with sedition and innovation, as if they had directed all their actions and speeches to the subversion of the common lawes; S. Paul therefore was very careful to (b) give order unto the Church of God, that without making any opposition to secular Princes and Powers, in quietness and tranquillity of life, it should exercise the work of justice and piety.

For if we should admit, for example (saith Origen) that such as believed in Christ would not be subject to the secular Powers, nor render tribute, nor pay customs, nor give fear or honour unto any: should not they by this means deservedly turn the armes of Governours and Princes against themselves, and thereby make their persecutors excusable, but themselves culpable? For now it would appear that they were impugned, not for their faith, but for

(a) Καὶ γὰρ πλὴν περιέβετο λόγος τότε, ἐπὶ ταῖς κακοποιαῖς διαβάλλων τὰς ἀποστόλους, ὡς ἐπ' ἀνατροπῇ τοῦ κοινῶν νόμου ἅπαντα καὶ ποιούντας καὶ λόγοντας. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Roman. homil. 23.

(b) Ordinatus quidem per hec Paulus Ecclesiam Dei, ut nihil adversi Principibus & potestatibus seculi gerens, per quietem & tranquillitatem vite, opus justitie & pietatis exerceat. Si enim ponamus, verbi gratia cre-

dentes Christo potestatibus seculi non esse subjectos, tributa non reddere, nec vectigalia persolvere, nulli timorem, nulli honorem deferre; nonne per hec Reſtorum & Principum merito in semetipsos arma converterent; & persecutores quidem suos excusabiles, semetipsos vero culpabiles redderent? Non enim jam fidei sed contumacia causa impugnari viderentur: & esset eis causa quidem mortis, meritum vero mortis indignum. Origen. lib. 9. in Epist. ad Roman. cap. 13.

their

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their contumacies sake, and to have a cause indeed of death, but a merit of death very unworthy of their profession.

Which Apostolical lesson the Christians which endured the brunt of the first ten Persecutions, had learned so exactly, that none in the whole world were found so dutiful unto their Princes as they : as appeareth both by their known practice, and their own pro-

(c) 'Εἰ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων βασιλείῃς προσδοκῶμεν, καὶ ἠνέμεθα ὅπως μὴ ἀναρώμεθα, καὶ λαθάνειν ἐπειρώμεθα ὅπως ἢ προσδοκῶμεν τὸ χαλῶν. ἀλλὰ ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ ταῦτα ἐλπίδας ἔχομεν, ἀναρωμένων ἡ περὶ πίστεως, τὰ καὶ πάντως ὑποταίειν ὁφειλομένη. Ἀρωγὴ δ' ὑμῖν καὶ συμμαχοί, ὥστε εἰρηλῶ ἐσμεν πάντων μᾶλλον αἰθρώπων. Justin Martyr Apolog. 2.

fessions in their publick Apologies. (c) *For if we did expect an earthly Kingdom, saith Justin Martyr to the Emperor Antonius, we would deny our Religion, that we might escape death; and we would labour to conceal our selves, that we might attain our expectation. But because we have not our hopes fixed upon the things of this life, we care nothing for those that slay us; being otherwise assured that we must certainly die. And as for the preservation of peace, we*

(d) Φόρους δὲ καὶ ἐσφορὰς πῶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν πεταγμένοις παταχῶντες πάντων περιμέθεσθαι φέρειν ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν παρ' αὐτῶν [Χριστοῦ] &c. ὅθεν Θεὸν μὲν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν, ὑμῖν δὲ ὥστε τὰ ἄλλα χαίροντες ὑπερεταμεν, βασιλεῖς καὶ ἀρχόντες ἀνθρώπων ὁμολογῶντες. Id. ibid.

yield to you more help and assistance than all other men. And for (d) tributes and collections, we endeavour every where before all others, to bring them in unto the officers appointed under you : as we have been taught by our Lord himself, commanding

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ding us to Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars. Whence we worship indeed God alone, but in other things we cheerfully do service unto you, acknowledging you to be the Kings and Princes of men. So Theophilus (e) Τὸν βασιλέα Bishop of Antioch, (e) Honour the King, πῶς, πῶς δροῶν honour him by wishing well unto him, by be- αὐτῷ, ὑποτασσέ- ing subject unto him, and by praying for him. αὐτῷ αὐτῷ, ἀγα- For in doing thus thou shalt do the will of τὸτο γὰρ ποιῶν, πῶς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ. λέγει γὰρ ὁ νό- μος. Τίμα, ὑπέ, τὸ Θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα, καὶ οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ἀπει- θῆς ἦς. Theophil. ad Autolyc. l. 1. (f) Ἐν μὲν καὶ σοὶ τὸ ὑποτάσ- σεσθαι ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξ- υσώμεναι, καὶ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι αὐτοῖς, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς λόγος, ὅπως ἡρεμον καὶ ἡσύ- χον βίον διὰγωμεν. Id. lib. 3. (g) Πάντων δὲ συ- βέβηκα διακειμένης καὶ διχαυότατα πρὸς τὸ Θεὸν καὶ πᾶσι ὑμε- τέραν βασιλείαν. Athenagor. le- gar. pro Chri- stian. (h) Πρὸς ὑμῶν λοιπὸν, ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαντες βίον, δογματῶν καὶ ὡς ὑμεῖς καὶ τὸ ὑμῶν οἶκον καὶ πᾶσι βασιλείαν σπουδῶς καὶ ὑπακοῇ. Ibid. (i) Περὶ μὲν τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ ὑμῶν ἀρχαῖς, ἵνα ταῖς μὲν παραπᾶσι καὶ τὸ διχαυότατον διαδέχου- μεν πᾶσι βασιλείαν, αὐξήσιν δὲ καὶ ἐπίδοσιν ἡ ἀρχὴ ὑμῶν, πάντων ὑποτα- χῶν γεγονένων, λαμβάνη. τὸτο δ' ὅτι καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἡρεμον καὶ ἡσύ- χον βίον διὰγωμεν, αὐτοῖς δὲ πᾶσι ταῖς κεκαλυμμένας σπουδῶν ὑποτασσόμεναι.

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dom succeed the Father, and that your Empire may increase and flourish, all being made subject unto you; which would be much for our good; that we, leading a quiet and peaceable life, may readily obey you in all your commands.

Tertullian is full to the same purpose; (k) *Qui putas nihil nos de salute Cesarum curare, inspicere Dei voces, literas nostras; quas neque ipsi supprimimus, & plerique casus ad extraneos transferunt. Scito ex illis preceptum esse nobis, ad redundantiam benignitatis etiam pro inimicis Dei orare, & persecutoribus nostris bona precari. Qui magis inimici & persecutores Christianorum, quam de quorum majestate convenimur in crimen? Sed etiam nominatim atque manifestè, Orate, inquit, pro Regibus & pro Principibus & potestatibus, ut omnia tranquilla sint. Vobiscum enim concutitur imperium: concussis etiam ceteris membris ejus, usque et nos. (licet extranei à turbis aestimemur) in aliquo loco casus invenimur.* Tertul. Apolog. cap. 31, 32.

(k) *Thou that thinkest we have no care of the safety of Caesar, look into the Word of God, I mean our books, which neither we our selves do suppress, and many chances bring to foreiners. Know, that by them we are commanded for the shewing the redundancy of our charity to pray unto God even for our enemies, and to wish well unto our persecutors. Now who are more enemies and persecutors of Christians then they, the neglect of whose Majesty we are brought to answer for as a crime? But beside, by name and expressly, Pray, saith the Scripture, for Kings and for Princes and Powers, that all things may be peaceable. For together with you is the Empire shaken: and the rest of the members thereof being so shaken, surely we also (although esteemed strangers from such troubles) will be found partakers of that*

fall. And (l) therefore do we sacrifice for the safety of the Emperour, but to our God and his, and in such sort as God himself hath commanded, with pure prayer. So that we pray for the Emperours safety more then you, asking it of him who is able to give it. And again, We pray for Emperours, for their Officers and Magistrates. (n) For the Emperours safety we call upon the eternall God, the true God, the living God; whom the Emperours themselves would wish before all others should be propitious unto them. They know who gave them their Empire, and they know, as they are men, who gave them their soul: they understand that he only is God, in whose power alone they are. (o) Having our armes therefore thus spread out unto God, let the hooks tear us, the crosses hang us, the fires lick us up, the swords cut our throats, the beasts leap upon us: the posture of a Christian praying is prepared for all kind of torment. Go to now, you good Presidents, wrest out the soul that is a supplicating for the Emperour.

(l) Itaq; & sacrificamus pro salute Imperatoris, sed Deo nostro & ipsius: sed quomodo precepit Deus, purâ prece, &c. Ita nos magis oramus pro salute Imperatoris, ab eo eam postulantes qui prestare potest. Id. ad Scapulam cap. 2.

(m) Oramus etiam pro Imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum & potestatibus. Idem in Apolog. cap. 39.

(n) Nos pro salute Imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum, Deum

verum, Deum vivum, quem & ipsi Imperatores propitium sibi præter ceteros malunt. Sciunt quis illis dederit imperium, sciunt quâ homines, quis & animam: sentiunt eum Deum esse solum, in cuius solius potestate sunt. Id. ibid. cap. 30. (o) Sic itaq; nos ad Deum expansos ungula fodiant, cruces suspendant, ignes lambant, gladii guttura detruncent, bestia infilient: paratus est ad omne supplicium habitus orantis Christiani. Hoc agite, boni Præsides, extorquete animam Deo supplicantem pro Imperatore. Ibid.

And with what invincible constancy they endured this Cruelty ((p) which they accounted their Glory) without any thought of revenge or resistance to the authority placed over them, howsoever they had power enough to meet with their persecutors, the same Authour thus elegantly declares ;

(p) *Cruelitas vestra gloria est nostra.* Tertullian. ad Scapulam. c. ult.

(q) *Circa majestatem Imperatoris infamamur: tamen nunquam Albiniani, nec Nigriani, vel Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani, sed iidem ipsi, qui per Genios eorum in pridie usque juraverunt, qui pro salute eorum hostias fecerant & venerant, qui Christianos saepe damnaverant, hostes eorum sunt reperi, &c. Et utique ex disciplina patientia divina agere nos, satis manifestum esse vobis potest, cum tanta hominum multitudo, pars penè major civitatis cujusque in silentio & modestia agimus; singuli fortè magis noti quam omnes, nec aliunde noscibiles, quam de emendatione visitorum pristinorum. Absit enim ut indignè feramus ea nos patique optamus, aut ultionem à nobis aliquam machinemur, quam à Deo expectamus.* Id. ibid. cap. 2.

(q) *We are defamed touching the Imperial Majesty: and yet were Christians never found to be Albinians, Nigrians or Cassians; (relating to Clodius Albinus, Pescennius Niger, and Avidius Cassius, who rebelled against the Emperours of his time) but the same men that the very day before did swear by the Genius of the Emperour, that offered up and vowed sacrifices for their safety, that had often condemned the Christians, were found to be their enemies. And that we indeed do carry our selves according to that lesson which we have learned of divine patience, hereby it may be manifest enough unto you, that being so great a multitude of men, the greater part almost of every City, we behave our selves silently and modestly; being perhaps better known severally then joyntly, nor otherwise*

discernable

discernable but by the amendment of our former vices. For God forbid that we should take those things in evil part which we desire to suffer, or plot any revenge from our selves, which we expect from the hand of God. Otherwise (r) one night, with a few firebrands, would yield us sufficient revenge, if it were lawful with us to expunge evil with evil. But God forbid that the followers of the divine religion should either revenge themselves with humane fire, or be griev'd to suffer that wherein they are tryed. And had we been minded to profess open hostility, and not to practise hidden revenge, could we want number of men or force of Armes? Are the

(r) Quando vel una nox pauculis faculis largitatem ultionis posset operari, si malum malo dispungi penes nos liceret. Sed absit ut aut igni humano vindicetur divina secta, aut doleat pati in quo probatur. Si enim & hostes exertos, non

tantum vindices occultos, agere vellemus, deesset nobis vis numerorum & copiarum? Plures nimirum Mauri & Marcomani, ipsiq; Parthi, vel quantacumq; unius tamen loci & suorum finium gentes quam totius orbis? Externi sumus, & vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, munioipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum. Sola vobis relinquimus Tempia. Cui bello non idonei, non prompti fuissetus, etiam impares copiis, qua tam libenter trucidamur? si non apud istam disciplinam magis occidi liceret quam occidere. Potuimus & inermes, nec rebelles sed tantummodo discordes, solius divortii invidia adversus vos dimicasse. Si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abruptissemus a vobis; suffudisset utiq; dominationem vestram tot qualiumcumq; amissio civium, imò etiam & ipsa destitutione punisset. Proculdubio expavissetis ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum & stuporem quendam quasi mortuae urbis quassissetis quibus in ea imperassetis. Plures hostes quam cives vobis remansissent: nunc enim pauciores hostes habetis pra multitudinem Christianorum penè omnium civium, penè omnes cives Christianos habendo. Tertullian. in Apolog cap. 37. vide etiam cap. 49, & 50.

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Moors, and the Marcomans, and the Parthians themselves, or any one particular nation wha'soever, more in number then we that are spread over the whole world? We are not of you, and yet we have filled all you have; your Cities, Islands, Castles, Towns, Assemblies, your very Tents, Tribes and Wards, yea the Palace, Senate and place of Judgement. Your Temples alone we leave unto your selves. For what war were not we able and ready, though we were fewer in number then you, that go to our Martyrdom so gladly; if it were not more lawful in our Religion to be slain then to slay? We could without armes, never rebelling, but only dividing our selves from you, have done you spite enough with that separation. For if so great a multitude of men as we are should have broken out from you into some corner of the World, the losse of so many Citizens would have shamed you, yea and by the very destitution punished you. Without all peradventure you would have been afraid to see your selves left solitary; and in that silence of things, and kind of amazement of a dead City, you would have sought whom you might rule in it. More enemies would have remain'd unto you then Citizens: where now you have fewer enemies by reason the multitude of your Citizens, that are almost all Christians.

And

And yet, saith Origen, (s) When we do nothing contrary to the Law and Word of God, we are not so mad nor furious as to stir up against our selves the wrath of the King or the Magistrate, which would bring upon us blows, torments, and divers kinds of death. For we have read that which is written, Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers: for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordain'd of God. They therefore that oppose the power, do oppose the ordinance of God. But when without any opposition to this power, the Christian for the preservation of a good conscience submitteth himself thereunto, ready to endure any torments rather than on either side to violate the duty impos'd upon him by his God; the lesse he seeketh to right himself therein, the more will he to whom vengeance belongeth assume the cause into his own hand. Which maketh S. Cyprian thus boldly to deliver his mind unto Demetri-

annus, the cruel persecutor of Gods Saints in Africa; (t) Leave off to hurt the servants of God and Christ by thy persecutions; whom being hurt the Divine vengeance doth defend. For hence it is, that none of us when he is apprehended doth resist, or revenge himself against

(s) Ἐνθα μὲν τοὶ ὑδὲν ἐναντίον περὶ τὸ νόμον καὶ λόγον Θεοῦ, καὶ μεμνημένοι, ἐπὶ ἀρμάρων καὶ ἐκαστῶν ἰσχυρίων βασιλέων ἢ δυνάμεων, ἐπὶ οὐκίας καὶ βασανιστείας καὶ θανάτου ἡμᾶς εἰσενέτα. ἀνέγνωμεν γὰρ καὶ τὸ, Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἑξουσίαι ὑπερέκεινται. καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ, αἱ δὲ ὅσαι ἐξουσίαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσὶν ὥστε οὐδεὶς ἀντιστάτης τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, τῇ τῷ Θεῷ διαταγῇ ἀνθίσταται. Origen. lib. 8. contra Celsum.

(t) Ledere servos Dei & Christi persecutionibus suis desine, quos ultio Divina defendit. Inde est enim quod ne-

mo nostrum, quando apprehenditur, reluctatur; nec se adversus injustam violentiam, quamvis nimis & copiosus noster sit populus, ulciscitur. Patientes facit de futura ultione securitas. Cyprian. de Demetrian.

your unjust violence, although the number of our people be exceeding great. The confidence we have, that God will hereafter avenge us, doth make us patient: to the returning of which vengeance the Lord is the sooner moved, when he doth finde at the same time the persecuted labouring with him for the welfare

(u) *Pro pace ac salute vestra propitiantes ac placantes Deum, diebus ac noctibus jugiter atq; instantanter oramus.* For (u) we, saith Cyprian there, day and night continually and instantly do pray, propitiating and appeasing God for your peace and safety. And (x) to him we pour incessant prayers for the Reign of Valerianus and Galienus; that it may continue unshaken; saith Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria. (y) For thy safety have I alwayes worshipped Christ, and

(x) *Καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὡς ἡμεῖς καὶ πάντες αὐτὸν (Ὁυαλειανὸν καὶ Γαλιηνὸν) ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διαμύω.* for the state of the Roman Empire have I alwayes adored him who is in heaven; saith S. Sebastian unto the Emperour Diocletian: and again, (z) The Priests of the Temples do possesse the minds of your Majesties with most unjust surmises, suggesting false tales, as if they were adversaries to the Common-wealth:

(y) *Pro salute tua semper Christum colui; & pro statu orbis Romani illum qui in cælis* where as by their prayers the Common-wealth is bettered and encreased: for they cease not to pray for your Empire, and for the safety of the Roman Army.

est semper adoravi. Act. 5. Sebastiani; apud Surium, Januar. 20. & Vincent. Bellovacens. in Specul. historial. lib. 12. c. 18. (z) *Iniquissimis subreptionibus animos imperii vestri templorum Pontifices obsident, suggerentes de Christianis falsa commenta, tanquam illi sint Reipublicæ adversarii: cum illorum orationibus Reipublica in melius proficiat & crescat: non enim cessant pro imperio vestro & pro salute Romani exercitus orare.* Ib.

And

And here, under those cruel Emperours *Diocletian* and *Maximian* (in whose army *S. Sebastian* serv'd) that most illustrious example of Passive obedience presenteth it self unto our view, which the *Thebaan* legion shewed, consisting of 6666. valiant Christians. The tenth man of whom when *Maximian* had caused to be executed, for refusing to offer sacrifice unto his false Gods; *Mauricius*, taking the rest of the Legion aside, used this oration unto them: as *Eucherius* Archbishop of Lyons relateth, in the Acts of their Martyrdome.

(a) *I congratulate your virtue, most worthy fellow-souldiers, that, for the love of Religion, the command of Cesar wrought no fear at all in you. You have seen your fellow-souldiers, in a manner with rejoycing minds, to have been delivered up unto a glorious death. How did I fear lest any of you (as it was easie for armed men to do) under pretence of defence should by lifting up his hands give interruption to their*

(a) *Gratulor virtuti vestrae, com- militones optimi, quod amore religionis nullam vobis Caesaris praecceptam attulic formidinem. Gaudentibus quodammodo animis tradidit ad necem gloriosam commilitones vestros vidistis.*

Quam timui ne quisquam, quod armatis facile est, specie defensionis beatissimis funeribus manus afferre tentaret! Jam mihi ad hujus rei interdictum Christi nostri parabatur exemplum, qui exemptum vaginâ Apostoli gladium propria vocis jussione recondidit: docens, majorem armis omnibus Christianae confidentiae esse virtutem. Hic Deus Christus planè mentes vestras manusq; prohibuit; ne quisquam Divini operi mortilibus dextris obfisteret, quin imò cæpti operis fidem perenni religione completet. Hactenus exempla sacris inserta codicibus legebamus: jam nunc per nosmet ipsos, quos sequi debeamus, adspeximus, &c. Eucher. Lugdunens. in Actis martyrum Agaunensium. (tomo 5^o Surii, Septemb. 22.)

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most blessed funerals ! I had now ready at hand, for the forbidding of this attempt, the example of our Christ, who by the command of his own mouth put up the sword which was unsheathed by his Apostle : teaching thereby, that the virtue of Christian confidence is greater then all weapons. Here Christ our God did clearly prohibit your minds and hands ; that none with mortal arme should resist the Divine work, but rather with ever continued Religion add a consummation to the work begun. Hitherto we have read examples inserted into the Holy Scriptures : but even now we our selves have beheld, whom we ought to imitate.

(b) *Texere me, commilitones opti-
mi, secularium
quidem bellorum
signa perspicitis ;
sed non ad hac ar-
ma provoco ; non
ad hac bella
animos vestros
virtutemq; com-
pello. Aliud nobis
genus eligendum
est praliorum. Non
per hos gladios po-
testis ad regna
cœlestia properare.* Then, when Maximinian had commanded that a second decimation should be made of those that remained, Exuperius, taking into his hands the ensignes of his Legion, spake thus unto them, (b) *My most worthy fellow-souldiers, I hold, as you see, the ensignes of a secular warfare : but to these arms I provoke you not ; I excite not your courage and your valour to such wars as these. Another kind of fight is to be chosen by us. It is not by these swords that you can make your way to the Kingdom of heaven : and afterwards wisheth this message should be returned unto the persecuting Emperour,* (c) *We are thy souldiers indeed,* Ibidem.

(c) *Milites sumus, Imperator, tui : sed tamen servi (quod liberè fatemur) Dei. Tibi militiam debemus, illi innocentiam. A te stipendium laboris accepimus ; ab illo vitæ exordium sumpsimus. Sequi Imperatorem in hoc nequaquam possumus, ut authorem nostrum negemus Deum ; authorem, velis nolis, tuum.* but

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but withall (which we freely profess) Gods servants. To thee we owe our employment in the war, to him our innocence: from thee have we received the reward of our labour; to him we are beholding for the beginning of our life. We cannot so follow thee in this, though our Prince, as to deny God who is our Maker, and (whether thou wilt or wilt not) is thine also.

After this, in *Adoes Martyrologie* there are many other passages interferred; and in the end this, *Non nos vel hac ultima vite necessitas in rebellionem cogit.* As for us, even this necessity of our last life doth not drive us to rebellion. But it followeth in *Eucherius* (d) *De-
spair it self, o Emperour, which most strengthens
men in dangers, hath not been able to arme
us against thee. Behold, we have our weapons,
and yet resist not: as willing rather to die then
overcome, and choosing rather to perish inno-
cent then live traytors. If to what already thou
hast decreed against us, thou wilt add more,
be it fire, or torture, or the sword, we are ready
for it. We are Christians, and such as our
selves we cannot persecute. Consider, o Cesar,
the courage of this Legion. Our weapons we cast* (d) *Non nos ad-
versum te, Impe-
rator, armavit
ipsa, qua fortissi-
ma est in pericu-
lis, desperatio. Te-
nemus ecce arma,
& non resistimus:
quia mori magis
quam vincere vo-
lumus, & inno-
centes interire
quam noxii vive-
re praoptamus. Si
quid in nos ultra
statueris, ignem,
 tormenta, ferrum; subjici parati sumus. Christiani sumus, persequi
Christianos non possumus. Inexpugnabiles legionis istius animos, Cesar,
agnosce. Tela projicimus: exarmatas quidem dexteras satellites tuos, sed
armatum fide Catholica pectus invenient. Occide, prosterne: secandas gla-
diis persecutoribus cervices praebemus intrepidi. Ibid.*

Ec 2

away:

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away: and thy executioner shall finde our hands unarm'd, but our breasts he shall finde arm'd with the Catholick faith. Kill us, down with us: without all fear we offer our necks to be cut off by the swords that are appointed to

(e) *Cedebantur* slay us. And so (e) were they all put to the itaq, passim gla- sword, not any way gainsaying or resisting; diis, non reclama- but, with their weapons laid down, giving their mantes saltem aut repugnantes, sed necks and offering their throats or naked bodies & depositis armis unto the persecutors. cervices persecutoribus prabentes, & jugulum vel intectum corpus offerentes. Adonis Martyrolog. X. Calend. Octobr.

(f) *Nos enim n's* Not unlike was the case of the Martyrs *iplos tanquam o-* that afterwards suffered under Sapor King of *ves tradidimus ad* Persia: in whose name Joseph answered thus *occisionem; ut qui* to Zeroth that fate in judgement upon him, *didicerimus esse* (f) We have given up our selves like sheep un- *subiecti omnibus* to the slaughter; as having learn'd to be sub- *potestatibus. Acta* 55. Acephimæ, ject to all higher powers. And that Christs *Joseph & Aci-* Church militant in general had very well *thalus; apud Si-* learn'd this lesson of Passive obedience, that *meon. Meta-* place of S. Augustine may sufficiently declare *phraft. Novemb.* unto us, (g) Neither then did the City of Christ, *3. (tomo 5º Li-* *pomani, fol. 18.*

fin.) (g) *Neq; tunc civitas Christi, quamvis adhuc peregrinaretur in terris, & haberet tamen magnorum agmina populorum, adversus impios persecutores suos pro temporali salute pugnavit; sed potius, ut obtineret aternam, non repugnavit. Ligabantur, includebantur, cedebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, & multiplicabantur. Non erat eis pro salute pugnare nisi salutem pro Salvatore contemnere.* August. de Civit. Dei, lib, 22, c. 6.

although

although as yet it were a pilgrim upon earth but had Armies nevertheless of great peoples appertaining unto it, fight for their temporal safety against their wicked persecutors; but rather, that it might obtain eternal happiness, made no resistance at all. They were bound, they were shut up in prison, they were beaten, they were tortured, they were burn'd, they were slaughtered, they were cut in pieces; and yet were multiplied: together with the testimony of

(h) *Cum tam ne-Lactantius; who was himself an eye-witness of that terrible persecution raised by Diocletian and Maximian. (h) Whereas we suffer such terrible things, we do not resist so much as with a word; but leave the revenge to God. Whereof*

(h) Cum tam nefanda perpetimur, ne verbo quidem reluctamur: sed Deo remittimus ultionem. Lactant. Institut. l. 5. c. 21.

he wished the persecutors to make this use,

(i) *Whereas from the rising of the Sun to the fall thereof the Divine law hath been receiv'd, and every sex, every age, and people, and country, with united and equal minds do serve God; the same patience is found every where, the same contempt of death: they ought to understand there is some reason in the matter, that not without cause it should thus be defended unto the death; and there is some foundation and solidity therein, that persecution doth not only, by the injuries and vexations thereof, not dissolve this Religion, but also increase it continually and make it firmer.*

(i) Cum ab ortu Solis usq; adeccasum lex Divina suscepta sit, & omnis sexus, omnis aetas, & gens, & regio unitis ac paderibus animis Deo serviant; eadem sit ubiq; patientia, idem contemptus mortis: intelligere debuerant, aliquid in ea re esse rationis, quod non sine causa usq;

ad mortem defendatur, aliquid fundamenti ac soliditatis, quod eam Religionem non tantum injuriis ac vexatione non solvat, sed augeat semper & faciat firmiorem. Id. ibid.

Neither was this patience of the Saints seen only in the Primitive persecutions, where- in the Imperial edicts arm'd the Infidel people for the extirpation of Christianity : but also after that *Constantine* the Great had abolish'd those bloody Acts, and enacted other Laws for the liberty of the Church of God, the like sub- jection was constantly continued ; as well under the *Arrian* Emperours, who retaining the title of Christians did endeavour with all their power to advance that damnable heresie, but also under *Julian* himself, who utterly revol- ted from the very profession of the name of Christ. For this man at first shew'd such zeal

(k) Τῷ μὲν γὰρ κληρῷ
φέρωντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐγ-
χαρίσασθαι, ὥστε τὰς
θείας ὑποαναγι-
νώσκουσιν τὰς λαῶν βί-
βλους, ὅθεν ἐλάττων
εἰς ὁρᾶν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἴ-
διον νομίζοντες, ἀλλὰ
καὶ πάντων μείζον
καλλώπιστα, τὴν
δοξίαν. Gregor.
Nazianzen. Orat.
i. in Julian.

in the embracing of our Religion, that (k) he, with *Gallus* his kinsman, (although of the blood Royal) thought it no scorn to take upon him the office of reading the holy Scriptures unto the people in the Church : and howsoever he afterwards (l) secretly withdrew himself, and adhered to the devilish Superstition of the *Pagans* ; yet at his first entrance into the publick Government, he pretended still to be a Chri- stian, and for the further manifestation thereof,

(l) Utq; omnes upon the sixth day of *January*, which we call
nullo impediante

ad sui favorem illiceret, adhaerere cultui Christiano fingebat, à quo jam pridem occultè desciverat arcanorum participibus paucis aruspicina auguriisq; intentus, & ceteris quæ Deorum semper fecere cultores. Et ut hac interim celarentur, feriarum die quem celebrantes mense Januario Christiani Epiphaniam disclitant, progressus in eorum Ecclesiam, solenniter numine orato discessit. Ammian. Marcellin. histor. lib. 21.

the *Epiphany*, he repaired unto the Church of the Christians, and there joyned with them in Gods publick worship. But when shortly after he had declared himself to be an open enemy unto the faith of Christ, the Christian souldiers, of whom the main bulk of his Army did consist (as appeareth by their general acclamation unto *Jovianus* recorded in * the Ec-
Julian he was made Emperour in his room) did not thereupon revolt from him, as he had done from Christ; but held themselves still tied in conscience to render unto Cesar the things that were Cesars, as to God the things that were Gods. (m) *Julian* was an unbelieving Emperour, saith S. *Augustin*. Was he not an Apostate, an oppressour, an Idolater? Christian souldiers did serve that unbelieving Emperour. When they came to the cause of Christ, they would acknowledge no Lord but him that is in heaven. When he would have them to worship Idols, and to offer incense, they preferred God before him. But when he said, Go forth to fight, invade such a Nation, they presently obeyed. They did distinguish their eternal Lord from their temporal: and yet were they subject even to their temporal Lord for his sake that was their Lord eternal.

* *Rufin*. lib. 2. histor. Eccl. cap. 1. *Socrat*. lib. 3. cop. 22. *Theod*. lib. 4. cap. 1.

(m) *Julianus* ex-titit infidelis Imperator. Nonne extitit apostata, iniquus, idololatra? Milites Christiani servierunt Imperatori infideli. Ubi vocabatur ad castrum Christi, non agnoscebant nisi illum qui in caelis est. Quando volebat ut idola colerent, ut ibi sacrificarent, praeponerent

illi Deum. Quando autem dicebat, Producite aciem, ite contra illam gentem; statim obtemperabant. Distinguebant Dominum eternum à Domino temporali: & tamen subditi erant, propter Dominum eternum, etiam domino temporali. August. in Psal. 124.

And

(n) Ἐπεγράθη ὃ τῇ
τῇ Θεῷ φιλανθρώπων
καὶ τοῖς χριστιανῶν δά-
κρυσι, ἀ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἐχούθη,
ταῦτο μόνον ἐχόντων
καὶ τὸ διὰ τοῦ φάρ-
μακον. Greg. Na-
zianzen. Orat. 1.
in Julian.

(o) Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ καὶ
ἐπὶ πολλοὺς καὶ τὰς
ἀλλοτρίων ἀμυνόμε-
νοι, ἢ πρὸς τὸ Θεὸν
ἐλπίς ὑπελάβετο,
πάντα ἀνθρώπων καὶ
ἀνιερνυμένων καὶ ἀνι-
κακομυμένων ἐπικυ-
εῖαν παντὶ πᾶσι· τί-
να ἄρα ἐπερὶ ἡ
ἀρχῆς ἀκροατῶν ἢ
κωλυτῶν ἢ ἀπει-
λημῶν ἔξεν ἐμὴν
λόγῳ, ἢ τὸ ὁμιλοῦντα
καὶ τὸ Ἰακώβ Θεὸν
ὑποφαιέας. Id.

Orat. 2. in eund.

(p) Πόσα ταῦτα κα-
τέπερξαν ἂν ὁπλῶν
παρασκευαί καὶ μη-
χανημάτων ἐπινοαίαι,
πόσα μυριάδες ἀν-
δρῶν καὶ φάλαγγες;
ὅσα ἰκατόντες μό-
νον ἡμεῖς καὶ Θεὸς ἐ-
λθεῖς κατεργάσατο.
Id. ibid.

And what kind of weapons the other Chri-
stians used (who were the far stronger part of
the Empire) against the present injuries which
he offered unto them, and the more grievous
afflictions which he intended afterward to
bring upon them; *Gregory Nazianzen* decla-
reth, when he sheweth that (n) *they were*
repressed by Gods mercy and the Christians tears,
which were many and shed by many, as having
no other remedy against that persecutour. For
(o) *we, saith he, unto whom no weapon, nor bul-*
wark, nor any other defence was left but only our
hope in God, all humane succour being utterly
taken away and cut off from us; whom else could
we have, either hearer of our prayer, or stopper
of the things that were threatned against us, but
him that sweareth against the pride of Jacob?
And when that miserable mans wrath was
gone, and those great thoughts of his perisht
with him, this grave Father doth thus magni-
fie Gods exceeding great goodness unto his
suppliants; (p) *What great preparation of*
arms, and plotting of projects, could have
wrought such things? how many thousands of
men and orderings of Armies? as only we sup-
plicating, and God using his own pleasure, hath
brought to pass.

Among the *Arrian* Emperours the prime
persecutors of the *Catholickes* was *Constanti-*
us, the Son of great *Constantine*: unto
whom the orthodox Christians, where they
could

could not tender their *active* did readily present their *passive* obedience: acknowledging his power to be from God, to whose judgement therefore they referred him; without the least thought of defending themselves and the truth of the Religion which they professed, by any violent opposition or taking up of arms against their Sovereign.

(q) *Cease to persecute the Christians, do not labour by our means to bring impiety into the Church. We are ready to suffer all things, rather than to be called Arrians: compel not us, who are Christians to be accounted fighters against Christ. This is our counsel unto thee. Fight not against him that hath given this Empire unto thee; do not, instead of thanks, requite him with impiety. Persecute not them which believe in him; lest thou also hear, It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. Thus freely did Liberius Bishop of Rome encounter the heretical Emperour: resisting him no otherwise, but with the ready submittal of himself to that banishment which he was assured before-hand was determin'd for him. In the like manner Hosius, that old Confessour, beginneth his stout, but dutiful, letter which he wrote unto him. (r) *I was a Confessour at first, when the persecution was raised by your Grandfather**

(q) Παύσαι διώκων χριστιανούς, μὴ πείραζε δὲ ἡμῶν εἰσάγει τὴν ἀσέβειαν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. πάντα ὑπομένειν ἵνα μὴ ἔτοιμαίᾳ ἡ Ἀρειομανίᾳ κληθῶμεν. χριστιανούς ὄντας ἡμᾶς μὴ ἀνάγκη χριστιμάρχους κληθῶμεν. τὰτο καὶ σοὶ συμβουλεύομαι, Μὴ μάχῃ περὶ τὸ θεοκτόνα σοὶ τὴν ἐρχομένην ταῦτα, μὴ ἀν' ἀχαιρίας ἀσεβήσης εἰς αὐτόν. καὶ διακατὰς προσδόντας εἰς αὐτὸν. καὶ ἀκρότης καὶ σὺ, Σκληρόν σοι περὶ καὶ βαλακλίξεν. Liberius ad Constantium, apud Athanas. in Epist. ad solitar. vit. agentes. (tom. i. pag. 646. edit. Commelin.)

(r) Ἐγὼ μὲν ἀμολόγησα καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὅτι διαγμὸς γέγονεν ἐπὶ τῷ πάπῳ σε Μαξιμιανῷ. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ σὺ με δι' οὗτος ἐπεισὺς καὶ νῦν πᾶν ἅπου ὑπομένειν ἢ ἐκκενῶν ἀθῶν αἰτία καὶ περὶ εἶναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Hosius, initio Epistolæ ad Constantium. lb. (pag. 649.)

F f

Maximian:

Maximian: and if you do also persecute me, I am now also ready to endure any thing rather then shed innocent blood and betray the truth. Afterwards he putteth him in minde of his mortality, and of the day of judgement: acknowledging in the mean time that he had receiv'd from God his Imperial sovereignty, and therefore whosoever did detract any thing from thence, should therein oppose Gods ordinance; as we have heard heretofore. For which readiness of suffering, that general protestation of the people of Alexandria is not here to be forgotten. (s) *If it be the Emperours command that we should be persecuted, we are all ready to suffer Martyrdom. But if there be no such thing, we do beseech Maximus the Governour of Egypt and all the Magistrates, that they would intreat his Majesty such things may not be attempted against us.*

() Εἰ μὲν οὖν πρὸς
σα γὰρ ὅτι δὴ καὶ
ἡμεῖς, ἔτοιμοι πάντες
μαρτυρῆσαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ
ὅτι τὸ Αὐγύστου πρὸς
σα γὰρ, ἀξιοῦμεν ὅτι
ἐπαίρειν τὸ Αἰγυπτίου
Μάξιμου, καὶ τὰς πο-
λιτευτὰς πάντας,
ἀξιοῦσθαι αὐτὸν, μηδέ τι
πεισθῆναι ἐπιχει-
σαι. Populi Alex-
andriini Protesta-
tio. (tomo 1^o
oper. Athanas.
pag. 858.)

(t) *Benignifica
naturatua, Domi-
ne beatissime Au-
guste cum benigna
voluntate concor-
dat. Et quoniam
de fonte paterna
pietatis tuae mise-
ricordia largiter
profluit; quod ro-*

*To this patient submission unto whatso-
ever pressure should be imposed upon
them by the authority which God had placed
over them, his servants added most humble
supplications; seconded with most earnest
prayers for the welfare of the persecuting
Emperour. Hence came that of S. Hilary
unto him; (t) Your mild nature, most blessed
gamus, facile nos impetrare posse confidimus. Non solum verbis sed etiam
lacrymis deprecamur, ne diutius Catholica ecclesia gravissimis injuriis affi-
ciantur; & intolerabiles sustineant persecutiones & contumelias, & quod est
nefarium, à fratribus nostris. Hilar. ad Constantium, lib. 2.*

Lord,

Lord, agree with your gracious disposition. And because mercy doth flow abundantly from the fountain of your Fatherly godliness; that which we entreat for, we assure our selves that we shall easily obtain. We beseech you, not only with

words but also with tears, that the Catholick church be no longer oppressed with grievous injuries, and endure intolerable persecutions and contumelies, and that (which is most foul) even

of our Brethren. (u) Let your clemency permit the people to have such teachers as they like, such as they think well of, such as they choose: and let them solemnize the divine mysteries, and offer prayers for your safety and happiness: and that of the twenty Bishops of the West, in the conclusion of the first Letters which they wrote unto him from the Synod held at Ari-

minum. We beseech you that you cause us not to stay from our charges, but that (x) the Bishops together with their own people may with peace employ themselves in prayers and the service of God; making supplications for your Kingdom, safety and peace, in which the Divine majesty long preserve you: and of the second likewise. (y) Again we beseech your clemency (our

(u) Permittit lenitas tua popu-
lis. ut quos volu-
erint, quos puta-
verint, quos elege-
rint, audiant do-
centes & divina
mysterium so-
lemnia concele-
brent, & pro in-
columitate, & be-
atitudine tua offe-
rant preces. Hilar.
ad Constantium,
lib. 2.

(x) ἵνα οἱ ἐπισκο-
ποι σὺν τοῖς ἱερέ-
σιν καὶ μετ' εἰρήνης
εἰς διχάς τε καὶ λα-
τρείας ὁλοῦ ἀγῶν,
ἡγουμένους ὑμῶν
τῆς βασιλείας καὶ σω-
τηρίας καὶ εἰρήνης, ἥν ἡ
θεοῦ σοι εἰς τὸ
διωκεῖς χάρις σου.
Epist. 1. Synod.
Ariminens. ad

Constantium (apud Athanas. in Epist. de Synodis Arimin. & Seleuc. Sozomen. l. 4. cap. 18. & Socrat. l. 2. c. 37. (y) Πάλιν τῶν σὺν φοιτη-
θῶντων ἀξιωματῶν, καὶ ἐν θεοφιλῆσι βασιλεῦσι, ὅπως σὺ τὸν ἐκ χρίστος ἔχοντα
ἐκ τῶν ἀρτίων τῆς σὺν ἀντιβείας, καὶ ἀδύνατος ἡμῶν εἰς τὸς ἡμετέρους ἐκκλησίας ἐπαλ-
θεῖν, ὑμῶν τῶ δυνάμει ἡμῶν τῶ παντοκράτει Θεῷ καὶ τῶ ἀποστόλῃ καὶ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν
Χριστῷ, τῶ ὑπὸ αὐτῶ τῶ μονογενεῖ, ὑμῶν τῆς βασιλείας, τὰς ἐθιμικὰς διχὰς καὶ τῶ
λαῶν ἀποπληρωθῶν, καὶ οὕτως καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπιπλεονεξίας καὶ νῦν ἐχόμενοι. Epist. 2. Synod.
Ariminens. (apud Socrat. loco notato.)

The Obedience of the Subject.

Lord and King, of God most beloved) that before the sharpness of the Winter, if it so please your godliness, you command us to return to our Churches: that we may together with the people accomplish our accustomed prayers to the Almighty God, and our Lord and Saviour Christ his only begotten son for your Empire; as we have alwayes heretofore done, and now continue still to do. And how ample those prayers were which the true Christians made for the welfare and long continuance of him and his posterity, that which is yet extant, of

(z) [Χειρ] τῇ
δωάμεν καὶ τῇ χά-
ριτι σε φερύμενον
λαμπρότερον τε καὶ

(z) Cyril Bishop of Jerusalem, may sufficiently demonstrate.

μείζον ἐντελείας ἐμπέμποντα κατὰ τοὺς ἡντινῶν βασιλικῶς ἐναβρω-
μένων βλασημάτων. Αὐτὸς ὁ παμβασιλῆς Θεὸς, ὁ πάντας ἀγαθωσύνης πύργος
πλάττει ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ ἡμῶν χειρὶ καὶ κόσμῳ σύμπαντι φυλάττει
παναίσιον, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ πᾶσι κακοτυμμένοις ἀρετῇ, καὶ τῷ σωθῆναι τῇ τε ἀρί-
στη ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ρωμαίων ἀρχῇ, τῷ φιλανθρωπῶν ἐπιδεικνύμενον, καὶ μείζον δόσι-
λειας βραβεῖσι λαμπρυνόμενον, πλάττει ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁ τῷ ὅλῳ
Θεὸς ἡμῶν χαίρειται παναίσιον, Αὐγασε βασιλεῦ διορίσας τε. Cyril. Hiero-
solum. in fin Epist. ad Constantium.

We have yet remaining the Apology of *Athanasius* Archbishop of *Alexandria* unto the same *Constantius*: wherein he cleareth himself of four accusations that were laid to his charge.

I. That he had used some evill language against this Emperour unto his Brother *Con-
stans*.

II. That he wrote letters to *Magnentius*, who rebell'd against and murdered the said *Con-
stans*.

III. That

III. That he celebrated publick Prayers in the great Church of *Alexandria* before it was dedicated.

IV. That he obeyed not the Emperours command, requiring him to part from *Alexandria*.

Where to the first his answer is this;

(a) *I am not mad, o King, neither have I forgotten the voice of God, which saith, Curse not the King, no not in thine heart.*

(a) Οὐ μαινόμεναι, βασιλεῦ, οὐδὲ ἐπιλάθωμαι τῆς θείας φωνῆς λεγούσης, καὶ γὰρ ἐν σωτηρίᾳ σου βασιλεύει μὴ κατατρέχειν, &c. Athanas. in Apologia ad Constantium.

For the repelling of the second, he draweth an argument from the publick prayers which he made for *Constantius* himself; in whom he could not but contemplate

(as in a glasse) the image of *Constans* his

brother. And (b) witnesseth hereof, saith he, *is first the Lord, who heard us and granted unto you the intire Empire which was left unto you by your ancestors: then those who at that time were present. For the words I used were only these, Let us pray for the welfare of the most Religious*

(b) Μάρτυρες τέτων, θεογονημάτων καὶ οὐ Κυρίου, ὁ ἐπικύρας καὶ χειροῦ καὶ οὐλόκληρον σοι ἐκ πατρῶν βασιλείαν. μάρτυρες δὲ καὶ οἱ τότε παρόντες· μόνον γὰρ ἔλεγον, Ἐυχόμεθα σοι τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ ἀπελευθερίᾳ Αὐγύστη Καρυστίας. καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὁ αὐτοῦ μετὰ φωνῆς ἔβόα, Χεῖρ ἐλθέτω Κωνσταντίῳ· καὶ διέμεινεν ὕπνω ἀρχόμενος. Ibid.

Emperour *Constantius*: and presently the whole people with one voice cryed, O Christ, be favorable unto *Constantius*: and so continued a long time, thus praying. And then concludes, (c) *Let truth take place with you, and leave not such a suspicion upon the whole Church, as though*

(c) Κρατεῖτο ἡ ἀλήθεια σοὶ, καὶ μὴ ἀφῆς ὑπόνοιαν κατὰ πάσης ἐκκλησίας μίαν, ὡς τοιαῦτα βυλομένων καὶ γενομένων χειρισμάτων, καὶ μαλίστα καὶ ἐπισκόπων. Ibid.

The Obedience of the Subject.

Such things as these should be thought on or written by Christians, and especially by Bishops.

As for the third he confesseth indeed he did so, being (d) urged thereunto by the importunity of the people, who earnestly pressed that they might all pray for the welfare of the Emperour, in that Church which he himself had builded; being ready otherwise to go out of the City, and to assemble themselves in the deserts, at the solemnity of Easter, which at that time was celebrated.

(e) And you, ô King, most beloved of God, (saith he) where would you have had the people stretch out their hands and pray for you? there where the Pagans did passe by, or in that place which bore your own

name; and which then, or rather from the laying of the first foundation thereof, all men did call a Kirke? and then turning his speech unto our

blessed Saviour, (f) O Lord Christ (saith he) who art indeed the King of Kings, the only begotten Son of God, the Word and Wisdom of the Father, because the people have implor'd thy goodness, and by thee call'd upon thy Father, who is God over

(d) Τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὁλίγων καὶ βασιλικῶν ἐσῶν, δόρυβθ' ἦν ἐκ ὁλίγων, ἀξιωματῶν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ σωθῆναι, καὶ καὶ πᾶσιν ὁλίγοις καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, ὅπως καὶ γέγονεν. Athanas. in Apologia ad Constantium.

(e) Σὺ δ', Θεοφιλέστατε βασιλεῦ, ποῦ τὸς λαὸς ἀν' ἡδύλες ἐκτείνου τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εὐχαριστοῦσιν σοὶ; εἶθα καὶ Ἕλληνας ἴσαν' παρερχόμενοι, ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἐκπορεύμασι σου τῷ ποταμῷ; ὅν ἤδη, μάλλον δὲ καὶ ἀματὶς δευαλίῳ, κυριακὸν πάντες ὀνομάζουσιν. Ibid.

(f) Ὁ Δίαυτος καὶ ἀληθὺς βασιλεῦς τοῦ βασιλευμένου Χριστοῦ, ὃς τῷ Θεῷ μονογενὴς, λόγος καὶ σοφία τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐπειδὴ τὸν σὺν φιλαυθροπῶν ὁ λαὸς ἠύχατο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν παρεκάλει, καὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ σοῦ δευαποῦντο καὶ ἀπεβόσαντο Κωνσταντῖν, κατορθώματι. Ibid.

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over all, for the welfare of thy most Religious servant Constantius, I am now accused: and to the Emperour again, (g) You do not forbid, but are willing that all men should pray, knowing that this is the prayer of all, that you may live in safety and continually reign in peace. And this is the expostulation which I make against my accuser. But as for you (o Emperour of God most beloved) many Circuites of years I pray you may live, and accomplish the dedication of this Church. For those prayers that are made therein for your welfare, do not a whit hinder the solemnity of the Dedication.

(g) Οὐ καλύεις, ἀλλὰ θέλεις πάντας προσεύχων ὅτιν' ἀσφαλὲς καὶ συνεχῶς βασιλεύῃ ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαπαντός. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα περὶ τῆς κατεπάντου ἐπιθυμῶ. Σὺ δὲ, σκοπιέσθε τὴν αὐγὴν, ἥσθε πολλὰς ἐτῶν ἀεὶ βίαις, καὶ τὰ ἐγκύρια ἐπιτελέσας αἱ γὰρ γὰρ ἐμὴν παρὰ πάντων αὐτῶν τῶν σὺν σωματικῶν ἐργῶν ἐκ ἐμ-

ποδίζουσι τὴν τῆς ἐγκύριον παύσιν. Athanas. in Apologia ad Constantium.

Lastly, to the fourth charge he answereth peremptorily, (h) I did not oppose the command of your Majesty. God forbid. I am not such a man as would oppose the very Treasurer of the City, much lesse so great an Emperour. (i) I was not so mad as to gainsay such a command of yours. And (k) I neither did oppose the command of your Majesty, nor will now attempt to enter into Alexandria, until you of your humanity be pleased I shall so do.

(h) Οὐκ ἀντίσω προσώγματι τῆς σῆς ἀσπερίας. μὴ γίνετο. ἔγωγος πρὸς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἵνα καὶ λογιστὴν πάλαι ἀντίσω, μήτις πρὸς πρὸς βίαις. Ibid.

(i) Οὐ γὰρ ἐναντιώμενος ἀντιπεῖν τι ἐπὶ σε προσώγματι. Ibid

(k) Οὐτε γὰρ ἀντίσω προσώγματι τῆς σῆς ἀσπερίας, ὅτε γὰρ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἰσελθεῖν πειράσω, εἰς ἣν σὺ φιλήνθρωπος τὸ το (εἶπε). Ibid.

We finde this also recorded in the Ecclesiastical History as a discreet speech of Aphraates.

The Obedience of the Subject.

Aphraates a zealous Christian; that when *Valens*, an other *Arrian* Emperour, demanded of him whither he went, he made answer, he was going to (1) pray for his Empire. And yet how miserably the Church was afflicted under his Government, *S. Basil*, beside many others, bemoaneth at large in sundry of his Epistles: (m) prescribing herein no other remedy, but constancy in maintaining, and patience in suffering for the truth. In both which how forward he shewed himself to be, may appear by that resolute answer which

(1) Ὑπὲρ τῆς οὐ-
νοῦ βα-
σιλείας. Theodor.
hist. Eccles. lib.
4. c. 26.

(m) Vide Basil.
Epist. 71. ad
Alexandrinus.

(n) Τὰλλα μὲν ὁπτεκεῖς ἡμᾶς, ὅ παρ-
χῆ, καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου ταπεινότεροι, τὸ
τὸ ἐν πολλῇ καλῶσθαι, καὶ μὴ ὅτι τοσούτω
κράτει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν
τῇ οὐρανῷ αἰετοῦται. οὗ δὲ Θεοῦ τὸ
κινδυνεύοντα τὰλλα πεφρονημένους
πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μόνον βλέποντας. Πῦρ δὲ
καὶ εἶψα καὶ θηρία, καὶ οἱ πρὸς σάρκα
τέμνοντες οὐχί, σφυγὴ μάλλον ἡμῶν
εἰσιν, ἢ κατὰ πληξίς. πρὸς ταῦτα
ὕβρις, ἀπειλή, πῦρ πάντων, πᾶν ἂν ἡ
βυλομένη σοι, τὸ ἐξουσία ἀπόλαυ-
σῶν ταῦτα καὶ βασιλεύς, ὡς ἡμᾶς
καὶ ἡ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πᾶσι σωθῆναι
τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ, καὶ ἀπειλῇ χαλεπώτερον.
Gregor. Nazianzen, Orat. 20.
in funere Basilii.

he made to *Modestus* the Go-
vernour of his Country. (n) In
other things we are mild, and
more humble then any other,
(Gods law so commanding us)
and lift not up our brow against
any of the meanest, much lesse a-
gainst so great a power. But
where the cause of God is in dan-
ger, we neglect all other things,
and look only unto him. Fire, and
sword, and beasts, and hooks
that tear our flesh, are matter
of rejoycing to us rather then
terroure. Beside all this; up-
braid, threaten, do unto us what

ever pleaseth thee, employ thine authority.
Let the Emperour also hear of this: that thou
shalt not overcome us, nor perswade us to con-
sent to impiety; although thou shouldst threaten

unto

unto us far heavier things then these. This speech of his is related by Gregory Nazianzen, in the Oration which he made upon his death: and the general rule of obedience is thus recommended unto us by Gregory himself;

(o) This is one of our Laws, and of those laudable ones and most excellently ordain'd by the Spirit of God (who knew best how to temper his law with the mixture of what was possible to us and honest in it self) that as servants should be obedient to their Masters, and Wives to their Husbands, and the Church to our Lord, and Disciples to their Pastors and Teachers: so should we also be subject to all higher Powers, not only for the fear of punishment, but also for conscience sake.

(ο) Ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς
ἐν ἡμετέροις νόμοις,
καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐπινο-
μίων καὶ καλλίστα δι-
ατεταγμένων πρὸς
πνεύματι (τὸ δυνά-
τον, καὶ τὸ καλὸν δο-
κιμασάντων καὶ νημο-
θετήσαντων) ὡς περ
δούλους ὑπακούειν
δεσπόταις, καὶ γυναί-
κας ἀνδράσιν, καὶ Κυ-
ρίῳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,
καὶ μαθηταῖς ποιμῆσι
καὶ διδασκάλοις. Ἔτι
δὲ καὶ πάσαις ἐξουσί-
αις ὑποτασσέσθαι

ὑποτάσσεται, ἢ μόνον διὰ τὴν φόβον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν. Gregor. Na-
zianzen. Orat. 17. ad cives timore percussos.

The next Emperour infected with the Heresie of Arrius, was Valentinian the yonger: with whom S. Ambrose had to do: who yet as the Ecclesiastical history noteth, (p) did not defend himself by his hand or his weapon; but with fastings and continual watchings remaining under Gods Altar, by his prayers procured God to be a defender both of him and his Church: from which spirit proceeded that speech of his to his flock

(p) Neq; se manu
defensavit aut te-
lo; sed. jejuniiis
continuisq; vigi-
liis sub altari po-
situs, per obsecra-
tiones defensorem
sibi atq; Ecclesie

Deum paravit. Rufin. hist. Ecclesiast. l. 2. c. 26.

(q) *Volens nunquam vos deseram, coactus repugnare non novi. Dolere potero, potero flere, potero gemere; adversus arma, milites, Gothos quicque lacryma mea arma sunt. Talia enim munimenta sunt sacerdotis. Aliter nec debet, nec possum resistere.* Ambrose in Orat. de Basilic. non tradend. contra Auxentium.

(r) *Si patrimonium petitur, invadite: si corpus, occurram. Vultis in vincula rapere? Vultis in mortem? voluptati est mihi. Non ego me vallabo circumfusione populi, nec altaria timebo vitam obsecrans, sed pro altaribus gratius immolabor.* Id. ad Marcellinam sororem, Epist. 33. (al. 13.) (s) *Tradere basilicam non possum, sed pugnare non debeo.* Ibid. (t) *Exigebatur à me ut compescerem populum. Revertebam, in meo jure esse ut non excitarem, in Dei manu ut mitigaret.* Ibid.

at Milain, (q) *Willingly I will never forsake you; being constrain'd I know not how to make opposition. I can sorrow, I can weep, I can sigh: against Armour, Souldiers and Goths, tears are my weapons: for such is the munition of a Priest. In any other manner I ought not nor cannot resist: and to the Emperours officers, (r) If my patrimony be the thing sought for, take it: if my body, I will be ready. Will you hale me unto prison, or unto death? you shall do me a pleasure. I will not guard my self with multitudes of people: I will not lay hold upon the Altar to intreat for life; but will more willingly my self be sacrificed for the Altars: and to the Notary, (s) Deliver up my Church I may not: but fight I ought not. And when (t) it was required of him that he should appease the fury of the people; his answer was, that it lay in his power not to incite them, but in the hand of God to mitigate them. And yet how little cause the others had to fear that people, whom S. Ambrose had so well instructed in their duty toward their Prince; the general acclamation made by them, and by him ascribed to the very inspiration of the holy Ghost, may testifie to all posterity.*

For (u) *what, saith he, could more excellently* (u) *Quid præstan-*
have been said by Christian men, then that *tius dici potuit à*
which the holy Ghost spake in you this day? We *Christianis viris*
make request, ô Emperour, we fight not: afraid *quàm id quod ho-*
we are not, but yet we intreat. This *die in vobis Spiri-*
(saith that *tus sanctus est lo-*
good Bishop to his disciples) doth beseech Chri- *cutus? Rogamus,*
stians; that both the tranquillity of peace should *Auguste, non pug-*
be desired by them, and their constancy in the *namus: non time-*
faith and truth should not be deserted, no not *mus, sed regamus.*
with the peril of death. *Hoc Christianos*
deceat, ut & tran-

quillitas pacis optetur, & fidei veritatisq; constantia nec mortis revocetur
periculo. Ambr. ad Marcellinam sororem. Epist. 33. (al. 13.)

And as in the Empire, so in those other (x) *Cùm pro nostra*
Kingdoms which were under the Government *fide, inquantum*
of *Arrian* Princes, their orthodox Subjects *facultatem Divi-*
were careful to yield unto them all dutiful ob- *nitns accepimus,*
servance: acknowledging their power to have *liberè respondemus,*
been given them by God; and, in that respect, *nullà contumacia*
as heartily praying for the continuance of their *sen contumelia de-*
state and dignity, as they did for the abolishing *bemus suspicati-*
and extinguishing of their heresie. For proof *one notari: eùm*
whereof we need go no further then to the *nec Regia sumus*
books written by *Fulgentius* unto *Thrasimun-*
dus King of the *Vandals* in *Africk*; and the *Deo timorem, ho-*
Council of *Agatha*, held under *Alarick* King *norem Regibus esse*
of the *Goths* in *France*. For about the beginning *exhibendum; A-*
of his first book *Fulgentius* thus maketh his en- *postolicà ita nos*
trance unto the *Arrian* persecutour, (x) *When* *nà &c. Competens*
we answer freely for our faith, as far as God hath *igitur mansuetu-*
mus honoris obsequium, cui Regalis apicem culminis Divinà cernimus lar-
gitate collatum. Fulgent. ad Thrasimuudum Regem, lib. 1.

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given us ability to do ; we ought not to be tax'd with any suspicion of contumacy or contumely : seeing we are not unmindful of the Regal dignity , and know that we must fear God and honour Kings ; according to the Apostles doctrine. We therefore render all due obedience of honour unto your Grace ; unto whom we see the top of Regal eminency hath been conferred by the Divine liberality : and towards the end of his last book concludes with this submiss and religious ad-

(y) *Quaeso, gloriose Rex, ut in te consideres largitatem Divini muneris, & potestatem non minuas largitoris ; ut qui tibi temporale, may give you also that which is eternal. The preamble of the Council of Agatha, wherein the Catholick Bishops pray for the prosperity of their Arrian King, is this, (z) When the holy Synod in the name of God and by the permission of the King, had met in the*

monition to him, (y) *I beseech you, o glorious King, that you would consider in your self the largeness of the Divine gift, and not diminish the power of him who bestoweth the same upon you : that he who hath given you this Kingdom*

(z) *Cum in Dei nomine ex permissione Regis in Agathensem civitatem sancta Synodus convenisset, & in S. Andreae basilica confederassemus ;*

in the Church of S. Andrew ; we there, with knees bended on the ground, did pray for his Kingdom and the long continuance of his people ; that as he had granted us liberty to assemble our selves, so God would extend his Kingdom with happiness, govern it with justice, and protect it with virtue.

bus in terra, pro

regno ejus, pro lenitate populi deprecemur, ut qui nobis congregationis permisit potestatem, regnum ejus Dominus felicitate extenderet, justitia gubernaret, virtute protegeret, &c. Proœm. Synodi Agathensis.

Thus

Thus stood things hitherto, and a long while after, untill the following times of darkness obscured this truth; so far, that in the dayes of the Emperour Henry III. (or IV. as others number him) that wicked innovation was brought in, whereof *Sigebert* maketh this mention in his Chronicle,

(a) *That I may speak with the leave of all good men, this meer novelty (that I say not heresie) was not yet risen up in the world; that the Priests of God (who saith to a King, Remove; and who maketh an Hypocrite to reign, for the sins of the people) should teach the people that they owe no subjection to wicked Kings, and albeit they have given an Oath of fidelity unto them, yet they owe no fidelity to them, nor are to be accounted perjur'd though they hold against the King; nay he that obeyeth the King shall be*

held as excommunicated, and he that opposeth the King shall be absolved from the guilt of injustice and perjury. Of which Schismatical novelty, introduced by

(b) Satan newly loosed, (b) Rev. 20. 7. the Clergy-men of Liege complain at large in See the book De Christianarum Ecclesiarum successionē & statu. cap. 5. their answer to the Epistle of Pope Paschal II. where, among many other things pertinent to this purpose, they thus justify the continuance

(a) *Ut pace omnium bonorum dixerim, hac sola novitas, nè dicam hæresis, necdum in mundo emerferat, ut sacerdotes illius qui dicit Regi Apostata, & qui regnare facit hypocritam propter peccata populi, doceant populum quòd malis Regibus nullum debeant subjectionem, & licet ei sacramentum fidelitatis fecerint, nullam tamen fidelitatem debeant, nec perjuri dicantur qui contra Regem senserint; imò qui Regi paruerit, pro excommunicato babeatur, qui contra Regem fecerit, à noxa injustitiæ & perjurii absolvatur. Sigebert. Chronic. ann. 1088.*

of their subjection to their unjustly deprived Emperour ; (c) *For the present we say nothing in the defence of our Emperour: but this we say, that although he were such as you report him to be; yet should we suffer him to rule over us; because by our sins we have deserved, that such a one should rule over us. Be it: let us grant against our will that he is such a one as you say he is. Even such a Prince ought not to be repelled by taking armes against him, but by powring out of our prayers to God. Which kind of weapons Bernard, not long after that, proposeth as the only lawful ones that may be used for the vindicating of the injuries offered unto Gods Church: writing thus confidently unto Ludovicus Crassus, then King of France,* (d) *Indeed we will stand and fight even unto death, if need so require, in our Mothers behalf, with such weapons as we may lawfully use: not with bucklers and swords, but with prayers and tears to God: and yet for his allegiance to the King himself he delivereth his mind as resolutely on the other side: (e) If the whole world should conspire against me, that I should attempt any thing against the Kings Majesty; bimus & pugna-*
bimus usq; ad mortem: si ita oportuerit, pro matre nostra, armis quibus licet: non scutis & gladiis, sed precibus fletibusq; ad Deum. Bernard. Epist. 221. ad Ludovicum Regem. (e) Si totus orbis adversum me conjuraret, ut quidpiam molirer adversus Regiam Majestatem; ego tamen Deum timerem, & ordinatum ab eo Regem offendere temere non auderem. Nec enim ignoro ubi legerim, Qui potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit. Id. Epist. 170. ad eund.

I would

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I would notwithstanding fear God, and not presume rashly to offend the King ordained by him. For I am not ignorant where I have read, Who-soever resisteth the Power, resisteth the ordinance of God.

And thus have I laid together such testimonies of antiquity as did occur in my reading as well touching the doctrine as the exercise of Regal Sovereignty and Christian Subjection. Wherein, however in the handling of particulars some errour may have escaped me ; yet my main aime and scope, I am sure, is straight and upright ; which is no other but to confirm all good subjects in their dutiful obedience unto their Prince , and to prevent Sedition and Rebellion in such, as being otherwise well minded, might perhaps for want of better information be drawn out of the way, and misguided to their own destruction.

F I N I S.
